This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

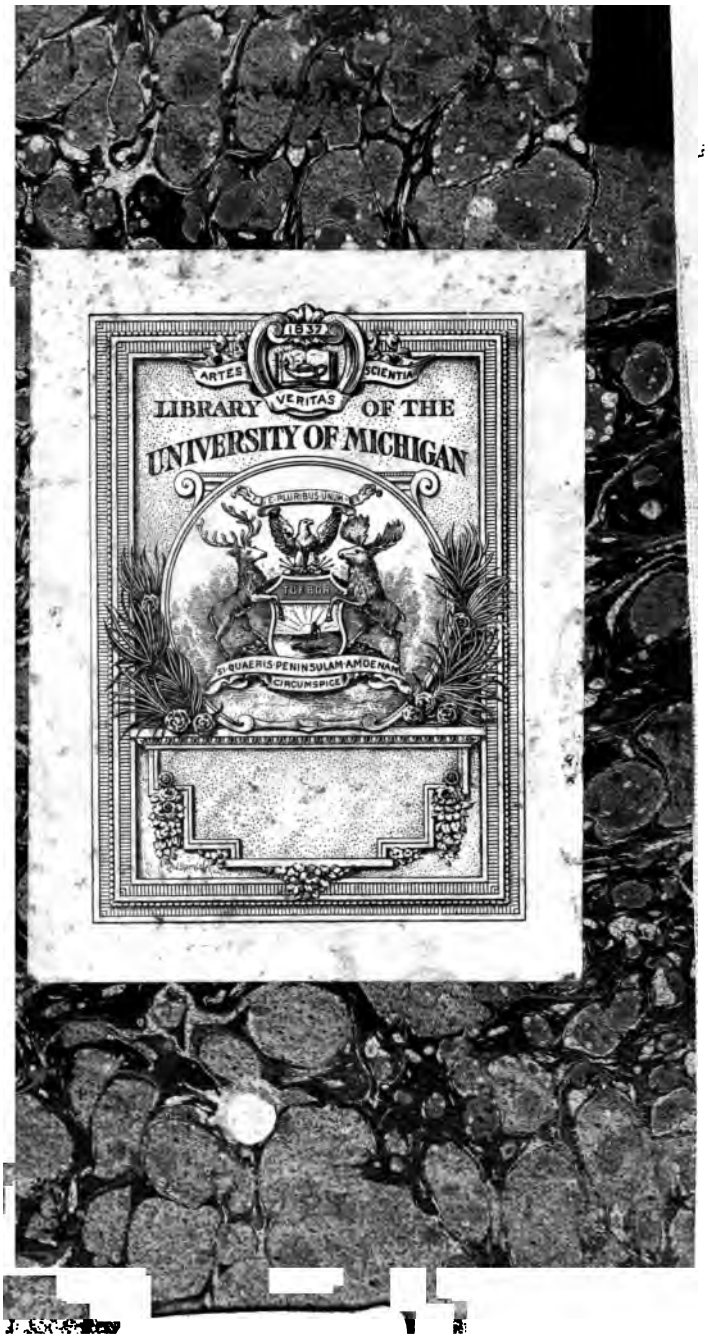
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

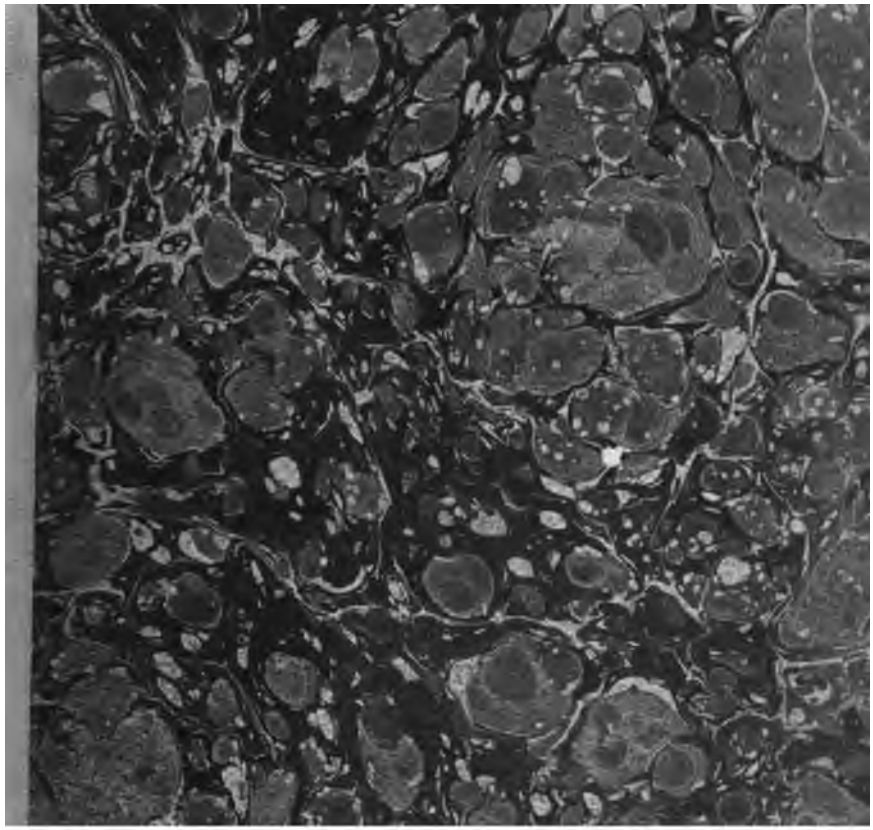
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 893,708


1837
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
E PLURIBUS UNUM
TUEBOR
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE



to fd

Wm Bird
& 1828

All

L

Z
720
R9
C44

Y. f. A
Jour. Hist of Medicine

21
18 X 44
11

THE

LIFE

OF

THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A. M.

THE KEEPER, *for almoſt Fifty Years*,

OF THE LIBRARY

BELONGING TO THE

FACULTY OF ADVOCATES AT EDINBURGH.

To which are ſubjoined

NEW ANECDOTES OF

BUCHANAN.

BY

GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S. & A.

London:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY;

AND WILLIAM LAING, EDINBURGH.

M.DCC.XCIV.

Edinr 27 Feb. 1746.

This Work having been printed in
some haste, several Errors have
escaped, partly through Inadverten-
cy of the Author, & partly by the
Ignorance or In-attention of the Prin-
ter: I have therefore, since the Pub-
lication of it, read the whole over
with all the Accuracy I could, and
in this interleav'd Copy, marked
and corrected all the Faults, even
those that are most minute, that I
could discover.

Ruddiman

Grammarian, which was painted by De Nune, who has preſerved a ſtriking likeneſs, though he is not mentioned by Mr. Walpole; and which was engraved by the greateſt artiſt, among the great, in the preſent day. The original picture is in the houſe of Ruddiman's ſon-in-law, James Steuart, eſquire, in Saint Andrew's Square, Edinburgh. There is ſubjoined to this Advertiſement a *fac ſimile* of the hand-writing, and ſignature, of Ruddiman, at a late period of his age, from his manuſcript notes on his *Vindication of Buchanan*. In the Appendix, No. 3, will be found *fac ſimiles* of the ſubſcriptions, of the eminent lawyers, who, in 1710, bore teſtimony to the merits of their librarian. And, there is added, as a *tail-piece*, the *ticket*, which aſcertained Ruddiman's books; and which the late Lord Hailes recommended to my attention as a very ingenious device.

Edinr 27 Feb. 1746.

This Work having been printed in
some haste, several Errors have
escaped, partly through Inadverten-
cy of the Author, & partly by the
Ignorance or In-attention of the Prin-
ter: I have therefore, since the Pub-
lication of it, read the whole over
with all the Accuracy I could, and
in this interleav'd Copy, marked
and corrected all the Faults, even
those that are most minute, that I
could discover.

Ro Ruddiman

The Portrait of Ruddiman is to face the Title;
and
The Appendix, No. 3, is to follow page 380,
in Signature B b.

THE

LIFE

OF

THOMAS RUDDIMAN, A. M.

THE deſire of preſent praiſe, or the ambition of poſthumous fame, may be conſidered as the ſtrongeſt incentives of the human race. While animated by ſuch motives, the ſtudent is neither diſcouraged, by any difficulty, nor overpowered, by whatever labour. Whether he trim the lamp, or riſe with the ſun, he makes diſcoveries, that are uſeful to man, or he compoſes writings, which, as they inſtruct by their notices, or pleaſe by their elegance, either facilitate the acquirement of knowledge, or ſmooth the aſperities of life.

He, who in this manner ſpends his days and nights, in benefiting mankind, is at leaſt entitled to the recollection of poſterity. By refuſing him this boon, we deprive him of the great incentive of his labour. By withholding the chief reward of

his toil, we injure the benefactor, who had explained to us ſome uſeful quality of matter; we contemn the philologiſt, who had inſtructed us in the elements of language; or we diſregard the pleaſant companion, who had gladdened our melancholy hours.

But, it is the praiſe of biography, that the literary world are enabled, by its recollections, to diſcharge a fair debt, without the transfer of property, or the obligation of a loan; to be juſt, without coſt; and to be grateful, without beneficence.

Of the numbers of men, who have benefited our fathers by their ſtudies, and added to the reputation of Great Britain by their learning, few will be found to be better entitled to biographical notice, than Ruddiman, whether we conſider the uſefulneſs of his works, the modeſty of his nature, or the diſintereſtedneſs of his ſpirit. He too was incited to employ "laborious days," and ſleepleſs nights, by the hope, that poſterity would at laſt award him the juſtice, which his contemporaries often denied him. The time is now come, when an attempt is made, to fulfil his wiſh, by endeavouring to ſtate his pretenſions, and to eſtimate his worth. In making this attempt, after abler writers had relinquiſhed the taſk, it has fallen to my lot, to collect the incidents of his life; in order that his merits may be known, and his example may be followed.

The county of Banff, and the pariſh of Boyndie, have

have the credit of Ruddiman's birth. In October 1674, he was born on the farm of Raggel, in the barony of Baldavy, which is ſituated on the ſhore of the Murray-firth, near the confluence of the river Dovern, within three miles of the ſhire-town of Banff.

Margaret Simpſon, his mother, was the daughter of Andrew Simpſon, who occupied the farm of Little Ratie, in the ſame pariſh. His father was James Ruddiman, who was born in the pariſh of Alva, but removed to the farm of Raggel, which was then the property of Mr. Ogilvy of Baldavy; and which, by one of thoſe changes that are incident to ſmall eſtates, has ſince become a part of the poſſeſſions of the Earl of Findlater. James Ruddiman was long remembered for his agricultural knowledge, as a farmer, and for his ſeaſonable charity, as a neighbour. He was one of thoſe men, who, with great corporeal powers, poſſeſs a tender heart. When he heard of the demiſe of Charles II. he ſhed many tears. Such was the attachment to monarchy, which twenty years of anarchial fanaticiſm had begotten in the nation! His ſon Thomas, who, when he was only ten years, two months, and nineteen days old, beheld that burſt of his father's loyalty, remembered it ever after with a livelineſs, which may perhaps have influenced his future conduct. (*a*)

(*a*) Ruddiman's Animadverſions on Man, 1749, p. 10.

Young Ruddiman was initiated in grammar at the pariſh ſchool of Boyndie, which was diſtant a mile from his father's dwelling; and which was then taught by George Moriſon, whom his pupil always praiſed for his attention and his ſkill. To this ſchool the boy walked every morning, carrying his daily proviſions with him. He is ſaid to have been conſtantly accompanied by a dog, which, when he had proceeded to the top of Tooting-hillock, the half-way reſting-place, always returned home, after partaking of his victuals. This ſtory is ſtill remembered, as if there were in it ſomething ſupernatural. We may ſuppoſe, however, that the excurſion was equally agreeable to both parties: and when it was once known, that the dog was to eat at a particular place, at a ſtated hour, an appropriate allowance was conſtantly made for him. Whether Ruddiman had a natural fondneſs for dogs, or whether a particular attachment began, when impreſſions are eaſily made, which are long remembered, cannot now be aſcertained. He certainly, throughout a long life, had a ſucceſſion of dogs, which were invariably called *Raſcal*; and which, being ſpringing ſpaniels, ever accompanied him in all his walks. He uſed with affectionate recollection to entertain his friends with ſtories of dogs, which all tended to ſhow the fidelity of that uſeful animal to man.

Meantime the intellect, and memory, and diligence,

gence, of Ruddiman carried him on before the other ſcholars of the ſame ſtanding. From Simpſon's grammar he learned the rudiments of the Latin language. As he advanced in his philological courſe, he was firſt ſtruck with the Metamorphoſes of Ovid. The ſtories excited his curioſity; and his curioſity was gratified by the ſtories. The ſchoolmaſter, ſeeing his eagerneſs, and knowing his talents, allowed him to preſs forward, without waiting the tardy progreſs of ſlower boys. This example is recorded, that it may be followed. It is remarkable, that Ovid, of all the claſſicks, was the firſt, and the laſt, favourite of Ruddiman, as that luſcious poet had equally been of Milton. In his youth Ruddiman was charmed with the gaiety of Ovid's fancy, the ſpritelineſs of his wit, with the elegance, and clearneſs of his language; and during the languor of age, the grammarian was pleaſed with the purity and flow of his diction, with his moral examples, and with his uſeful leſſons of life. (*b*)

The time came at laſt, when Ruddiman was to try his ſtrength, on a more conſpicuous theatre, againſt the ableſt youths of the North. In October 1690, at the age of ſixteen, he left his home, without the knowledge of his father, who, thinking him too young to encounter the obſtructions of life, had oppoſed his deſign; in order to gain by

(*b*) Vindication of Buchanan, p. 377-8-9.

competition, at the King's college, Aberdeen, a prize, which, our ſtudent had heard, was annually given to genius and learning. His ſiſter Agnes put a guinea in his pocket, which being a large contribution, at a needy moment, he always mentioned to her praiſe, and timely repaid to her offſpring.

On the road he is ſaid to have been met near the Starbriggs by gypſies, who ſtripped him of his cloaths. From this diſaſter a diſtinguiſhing feature of Ruddiman's character began to appear. In the courſe of an extended life, he conſtantly evinced, that though a modeſt, he was a reſolute, man; who, relying on the conſciouſneſs of his own powers, and the ſteadineſs of his own exertions, was never turned aſide, from a fair object, by whatever oppoſition. At Aberdeen he at length appeared, without friends, or recommendations, or even the decent apparel, which procures a civil reception to ſtrangers.

The village, at the mouth of the Don, had become probably a ſeat of learning, as early as the removal of the ſee of the biſhop, from Mortlach to Aberdon, in July 1142. It was not, however, till the concluſion of the fifteenth century, that the King's college was here founded by biſhop Elphinſton, who roſe to the higheſt offices, in the church, and ſtate, by his merits; and whoſe offices were yet inferior to his worth. The utility of his actions ſhed a luſtre around him, while he lived; and tranſmitted,

tranſmitted, after his death, a renown, which will continue reſplendent, as long as the uſefulneſs of his eſtabliſhments ſhall continue to be felt by his country. The famous Hector Boethius, whom he brought from Paris, was the firſt principal. John Vaus was the original profeſſor *literarum humaniorum*, who, as he publiſhed the firſt grammatical treatiſe, may be regarded as the Whittington of Scotland. (*c*)

What number of ſcholars aſſembled at the King's college, under the government of Boethius, or were taught Latin by Vaus; how many were inſtructed in divinity, or ſcience, during the firſt fifty years, I am unable to tell. When queen Mary came there, in the courſe of her northern tour, in 1562, ſhe found only fifteen, or ſixteen, ſtudents; a paucity, which was doubtleſs owing to the violences of the Scottiſh reformation. (*d*)

This univerſity was ſoon after violated by the reforms of the regent Murray, who, under the

(*c*) In primam doctrinalis Alexandrini partem, ab Jod. Bad. Aſcenſio recognitam Commentarii; ab eodem Aſcenſio itidem recogniti atque impreſſi, Paris ab eund. 1522. 4to.

(*d*) Randolph, the Engliſh ambaſſador, wrote to Cecil, the ſecretary of ſtate, from Old Aberdeen, the 31ſt Auguſt 1562—"The quene in her progreſſe is now come as far "as Olde Aberdine, the biſhop's ſeat, and whear alſo the "univerſitie is, or at the leaſt one colledge with fifteen or "ſixteen ſcollers. Yt ſtandeth within one mile of the other, "which men report to be more beautiful and myche richer." [This letter is in the paper-office.]

authority of an act of his own parliament, (*d*) which provided that, "the teacheris of zouth ſuld be "tryed be the viſitoris of the kirk," expelled the profeſſors, and appointed a principal.—The new plan of education, which was drawn by the reforming hand of Buchanan, was intended, not for St. Andrew's alone, but for Glaſgow, and for Aberdeen. (*e*) Yet, was it never ratified, as to Aberdeen, either by any act of the legiſlature, or by the charter of the king.

There were various attempts, indeed, from 1584 to 1597, to obtain the ſanction of parliament to this *nova fundatio*, for the King's college. But, they were all diſappointed, in the end, by the addreſs of James Elphinſton, who was a lord of ſeſſion, (*f*) and became the ſecretary of ſtate; and who, conſidering theſe attempts as violences offered to the eſtabliſhments of his illuſtrious kinſman, "the founder," contrived to reject by management what he could not withſtand by power. In this manner, did the King's college eſcape the pruning-knife of the reformers.

(*d*) 1ſt. Ja. 6, N° 11. An. 1567.

(*e*) See in the APPENDIX, N° 1. a copy, from the records, of the very curious act, "For Reformatioun of the "Univerſitie of St. Androis."

(*f*) He was firſt appointed by the title of Invernochtie, on the 4th of March 1586; and became the Lord Preſident of the Court of Seſſion, on the 1ſt of March 1605. [Lord Hailes's Catal. of the Lords of Seſſion, 6-7.]

Fearing

Fearing future reforms, during ages of innovation, the profeſſors of that univerſity obtained from parliament, in 1633, and in 1662, confirmations of the original foundation, which enabled the King's college to confer degrees of every kind, as fully as the univerſities of Paris, or Bologna, could grant academick honours, as rewards of literary acquiſitions.

The reforms, and revolutions, of Scotland had no happy influence on her genius, and literature, during ſeveral ages. This ſad truth may be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by a ſhort enumeration of thoſe, who, by devoting their lives to uſeful ſtudies, amidſt fanaticiſm and turbulence, would do honour to any country.

Napier having ariſen, indeed, towards the end of the ſixteenth century, diſcovered *the logarithms*, (*g*) with "*ſecret inventions*," which did little honour to his genius, and proved leſs uſeful to mankind. (*h*) Drummond of Hawthornden, who was born in 1585, and is remem-

(*g*) The *Mirifici Logarithmorum Canonis Deſcriptio* was printed by Andro Hart, at Edinburgh, 1614, 4to; and was dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales.

(*h*) The *ſecret* inventions were a *burning mirrour*, a wonderful piece of artillery, a war chariot. "Theſe inven-" tions," ſays Napier, "beſides devices of *ſailing under the* " *water*, and ſtratagems for burning the enemies ſhips, by " the grace of God and works of expert crafteſmen, I hope to " perform." He died in 1622, without executing his deſign. [See Martin's Biog. Philoſophica.]

bered

bered chiefly for his Poems, applied his fertile genius to the cultivation of natural knowledge and mechaniç art; to the diſcovery of the longitude, and to the making of ſalt-water freſh. (*i*)

Theſe philoſophers were followed, at a diſtance, by Sir Thomas Urquhart, who, amid the tumults of the Covenant, publiſhed *The Triſſotetras*, a trigonometrical treatiſe, in 1645, and died in 1660, during a paroxiſm of laughter, on hearing of the Reſtoration. James Gregory was born in 1639, and died in 1675, after diſputing about the *quadrature of the circle* with Huygens, and contending with Newton about *the nature of light*. (*j*) David Gregory was born in 1661; and devoting his life to ſcience, which was enriched by his ſtudies, finiſhed his honourable courſe, in 1710. (*k*)

George Sinclair, a profeſſor, at Glaſgow, publiſhed, in 1661, his *Tyrocinia Mathematica*; in 1669, his *Ars nova et magna Gravitatis et Levitatis*; in 1672, his *Hydroſtaticks, with Obſervations on the Hiſtory of Coal*; in 1683, *Natural Philoſophy im-*

(*i*) See his works, edit. 1711, p. 235.

(*j*) At the age of twenty-four, he publiſhed, in 1663, his work on the conſtruction of Teleſcopes; in 1667, his *Vera Circuli et Hyperbolæ Quadratura*: and after his death, in 1675, his whole diſcoveries were publiſhed.

(*k*) He publiſhed, at Edinburgh, in 1684, his *Exercitatio Geometrica de Dimenſione Figurarum*. His other works were printed after his deceaſe.

proven

proven by new Experiments; and in 1688, "*The Principles of Aſtronomy and Navigation.*" He appears to have employed his days, and nights, in theſe ſcientific and uſeful labours: yet, though he was a man of modeſt pretenſions, he did not eſcape ridicule. James Gregory, whoſe talents were debaſed by envy, publiſhed againſt him, *The great Art of weighing Vanity, being an Examination of George Sinclair's Hydroſtaticks.*

Mathew Mackaille, an apothecary at Aberdeen, publiſhed, in 1659, *Fons Moffatenſis*; in 1664, a *Topographical Deſcription of the Mineral Wells at Moffat*; in 1683, "The Diverſity of Salts and "Spirits maintained;" and in 1691, *The Old yet New and true Scripture Theory of the Earth.* To the genius of the two Gregories, and to the ſtudies of Sinclair and Mackaille, ſucceeded John Keill, who was born in 1671, and James Keill, his brother, who followed him, in 1673. In their philoſophical purſuits, they both roſe to eminence, and both left writings behind them, which have enrolled their names among the uſeful cultivators of ſcientific ſkill. This liſt, ſhort as it is, cannot eaſily be enlarged, if we include only thoſe Scotſmen, who, during the foregoing periods, cultivated, on their native ſoil, natural knowledge, and the ſublimer ſciences.

Mean time, the munificence of the North had eſtabliſhed, in the univerſities of Scotland, various foundations, which are there called *Burſaries*; and which,

which, as they amount to nine, or twelve, or fifteen, pounds a year, enable the ſtudents, during four terms, to acquire a competent knowledge of Greek, of phyſicks, and of metaphyſicks. In order to gain one of theſe burſaries by competition, nothing is required but a ſufficient acquaintance with Latin. A theme is aſſigned by the profeſſors to the ſeveral competitors; and to him, who exhibits the greateſt knowledge of Latinity, is aſſigned the richeſt burſary. It is unneceſſary to recount, that Ruddiman carried away the prize from the ableſt of his opponents, contrary to the expectation of thoſe, who had formed their opinions from firſt appearances, without waiting for ſubſequent trials.

His father, being informed of the place, and of the object, of his excurſion, haſtened to Aberdeen, where he found, that his ſon had gained an eſtabliſhment, by his knowledge, and friends, by his conduct. From that epoch, Ruddiman returned ſeldom to his father's houſe, and partook little of his father's aid. James Ruddiman had ſix children, who were born in the following order: Agnes, Thomas (our author), James, John, Walter, and Helen. (*l*) From the conſtant needs of

(*l*) Agnes, marrying one Reid, left a daughter, who, falling into poverty, was relieved by Ruddiman, through the ſolicitation of Biſhop Falconer, in 1751; and George Reid, who, being an inmate with Ruddiman, collected notes for his

of ſo numerous a family, little indeed could be ſpared to the eldeſt ſon, had he been leſs able to provide for himſelf.

In November 1690, Thomas Ruddiman commenced his accademical ſtudies under profeſſor William Black, of whom he always ſpoke with veneration and kindneſs. The profeſſor had been diligent to learn moſt of the philoſophy, which was at that time known. Of natural knowledge, he knew what had been recently taught by Grew, Malpighi, and Lewenhoek. He was accurately informed, with regard to the gravity, and elaſticity, of the atmoſphere, the theory of pumps, and the uſes of the barometer. He was ſufficiently acquainted with the ſolar ſyſtem, though he had little mathematical ſcience. He had ſtudied, indeed, Des Cartes; he had heard of Locke: yet, he knew nothing of Newton, whoſe ſun, indeed, began only then to appear above the horizon, and to illuminate the tops of the hills, but even, at that epoch, to throw merely a feeble light over

his life, which were found uſeful, though they be not accurate. James was a farmer at the bog of Montblairy, who left two ſons, John, who ſucceeded his father in this farm, and left a daughter, that married George Robertſon, a ſea-commander; and Walter, who went to Edinburgh, where, becoming a printer, he eſtabliſhed the Edinburgh Magazine, and left a ſon, Thomas, who is now a printer in Edinburgh. John was a farmer at Elliſburn, who died without iſſue. Walter joined our author, at Edinburgh, and became his partner, as a printer. Of Helen, the youngeſt daughter, I know nothing.

the

the vallies below. (*m*) Whatſoever he knew, profeſſor Black, was ſedulous to teach: (*n*) whatever he taught, Ruddiman was eager to learn.

But, though Ruddiman doubtleſs performed the taſks, which were aſſigned him by the profeſſor, he probably followed the bent of his genius, in ſtudying claſſical learning. His literary labours were at length rewarded by thoſe, who were the proper judges of his merits. And, on the 21ſt of June 1694, he obtained the degree of Maſter of Arts, of which he appears to have been always proud. (*o*) His academic honours were onferred after a diſputation, which laſted, ſays the theſis, *ab aurora uſque ad veſperam.* Of the fellow-ſtudents of Ruddiman two only are remembered. Simon Fraſer of Beaufort, who, though he had nearly arrived at manhood, was

(*m*) It was about the year 1685, that David Gregory firſt introduced the Newtonian philoſophy into the public ſchools at Edinburgh. [Martin's Life of D. Gregory.]

(*n*) The printed theſis, on which Ruddiman and his fellow ſtudents maintained a diſputation, on the day of their graduations, ſtill remains in the hands of Mr. profeſſor Thomas Gordon, of the King's college, who obligingly communicated the above-mentioned particulars to me, not only as ſpecimens of the knowledge of profeſſor Black, but as a ſummary of the philoſophical courſe, which he had taught, during the four preceding ſeſſions.

(*o*) This date appears from the College Regiſter, which Mr. profeſſor Thomas Gordon was ſo good as to ſearch for me.

at the head of every miſchief; and who, after he had become Lord Lovat, cloſed a long life of vicious courſes, by public execution. The other was Dunlop, the well-known watchmaker, who being an honeſter man, roſe to be a more uſeful citizen.

Ruddiman did not relinquiſh his ſtudies, when he left the college, though he was not then twenty years of age. His diligence began early, and continued late, in his life. And the firſt production of his learned induſtry is an unpubliſhed book, which is entitled *Rhetoricorum libri tres*; (*p*) and which

(*p*) This beautiful manuſcript, which is in the hand-writing of Ruddiman, is now in the poſſeſſion of the learned and obliging Alexander Brown, the keeper of the advocates library at Edinburgh, who gave me the following account of it:

" The Præludia take up the firſt ten pages, at the bot-
" tom of the tenth page it is thus written: *Præludiorum*
" *finis.* CIↃIↃCXCIV. VIIIvo.
Kal. Oct. D. L. ϑ.
P. M.

" The Text begins on the 11th pag. and is concluded on the 171ſt. Finis. C
Anno CIↃ IↃ XCIV.
VI. Idus Octobreis
ϑ. 9. H. A. M.
Αιωνίῳ τῷ Θεῷ αιωνίῳ
Δόξα.

" The Index Capetum takes up the two laſt pages and a
" part of the third. Then follow: Nomina Authorum ex
" quibus exempla rebus in hoc libro contentis illuſtrandis,
" con-

which proves, that before October 1694, he had peruſed the Latin claſſics with exemplary application.

Meantime, Ruddiman was engaged, by Robert Young of Auldbar, in the county of Forfar, the great-grandſon of Sir Peter Young, who had been the ſcholaſtic maſter of king James, to aſſiſt the ſtudies of his ſon David, whom Ruddiman commends for his gentlemanlike accompliſhments. At Auldbar, he probably ſpent his vacations, in the company of thoſe, whom he always remembered with fond recollection. It was in this retreat, that while he promoted the literary labours of a pupil, he purſued his own. It was in this ſituation, that hearing, in February 1695, of the deceaſe of Patrick Bellie, the ſchoolmaſter of Lawrence Kirk, in the Mearns, he obtained his place, partly by the recommendation of his preſent patron, though perhaps as much by his own reputation, for diligence, and learning. (*q*)

Ruddiman

" conducentia deprompſimus, et quo tempore floruerunt." [It would appear, that the learned author never made out the promiſed liſt.]

(*q*) It has been doubted, whether Ruddiman went from Laurence Kirk to Auldbar, or from Auldbar to Laurence Kirk. The following documents will, I flatter myſelf, put an end to this doubt.—There is the ſubjoined inſcription on a grave-ſtone, at the eaſt end of the church of Laurence Kirk:—" Here lies Maſter Patrick Bellie, ſchoolmaſter, who " departed this life, the 20th of February 1695, aged " twenty

Ruddiman was in this manner promoted, in April 1695, from being the tutor in a private family to be the maſter of a public ſchool. At the age of twenty-one, he doubtleſs hoped from this event for ſome advancement, in honour, and in profit. He certainly enjoyed the pleaſures of change. But, what credit, or what gain, he could expect from teaching the ſchool of a village; which had not yet acquired the honours of a Burgh of Barony, it is not for us to determine. His emoluments could only be ſmall; and his fame could alone be enhanced, by diſcharging an inconſiderable truſt with honeſt induſtry.

As early, indeed, as the revival of learning, the parliament of Scotland had enacted, (*r*) "that barons and freeholders ſhould put "their eldeſt ſons to the grammar ſchool, "'till they ſhould be founded in Latin, and "thereafter ſhould ſtudy the law, for three "years, under the penalty of twenty pounds."

"twenty years, five months, and ſixteen days."—There is another grave-ſtone, in this church-yard, containing a very long Latin inſcription, on the body of Alexander Fularton, ſchool-maſter, who died, in Auguſt 1691. The incumbency of theſe two maſters ſeems to exclude the nomination of Ruddiman, at that period of time, when only he could have been appointed. Ruddiman ſays himſelf deciſively, "That "he was ſchoolmaſter at Lawrence Kirk, during three years "and a half, from April 1695 to October 1699." [A manuſcript note on a pamphlet entitled, *A modeſt Attempt towards a Hiſtory of the famous* W. [illiam] L. [auder.]

(*r*) An. 1494. N° 54.

The legiſlature meant well, but acted unſkilfully. It was not inquired, whether grammar ſchools had been then eſtabliſhed in Scotland, wherein the children of freeholders could have been inſtructed in Latin. A century and a quarter elapſed, before the ſeveral pariſhes enjoyed the benefit of ſuch ſchools, for the inſtruction of youth. It was on the 10th of December 1616, that an act of privy council was paſſed (*f*) *for eſtabliſhing ſchools* in every pariſh, where children might be taught, at the leaſt to read and write. This was a wide ſtep, had it been perfectly legal. It was, however, confirmed by parliament, in 1633; (*t*) and enforced by additional proviſions; for ſettling a ſchool, with a maſter, in every pariſh; and appointing a ſalary for the ſchoolmaſter, which ſhould not be leſs than a hundred, nor more than two hundred, marks; to be paid by the proprietors of lands. At an after period, the ſchoolmaſters were ſubjected, by parliament, to the trial and cenſure of the preſbyteries. (*u*) Such was the ſalary of Ruddiman, (*v*) and ſuch was the juriſ-

(*f*) Appendix to Lord Kaims's Statute Law, N° 3.

(*t*) Statute 1633. N° 5.

(*u*) Act 1693. N° 22.

(*v*) Our grammarian was paid chiefly in corn, which he ſold to his uncle William Simpſon, who gave him a high price for it, during the dear years, which ſucceeded the Revolution, when, according to a ten years average, ending with 1699, wheat was worth 16*s.* 11 ½ *d.* ſterling per Boll, and oats 10*s.* 1½ *d.* per Boll, taking the higheſt, the middle, and the loweſt, prices of thoſe years.

diction,

diction, to which his talents, and deportment, were ſubjected by legiſlators, who had more zeal, than knowledge; and more buſtle, than efficiency. Yet, in forming a juſt eſtimate of the amount of his income, at the various periods of his life, we ought ever to recollect the paſt, rather than conſider the preſent. In 1598, the principal maſter of the high ſchool, at Edinburgh, was allowed an annual ſalary of one pound, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence, ſterling. In 1709, his ſalary was ſettled at ſixteen pounds, thirteen ſhillings, and four pence; (*w*) ſuch was the intermediate progreſs, both in the depreciation of money, and the difficulty of ſubſiſtence.

In Edinburgh, it muſt be acknowledged, there exiſted, at the revival of learning, a grammar ſchool, which has continued to increaſe in uſefulneſs, and in fame, from that happy epoch to the preſent times, under the well known name of *The High-School.* This may be conſidered as *The Saint Paul's* of Edinburgh. The magiſtrates of that city appear to have watched over this valuable inſtitution with jealous attention, though their well-meaningneſs hath been, at times, betrayed, by their ardour. Their records contain the following ſpecimen of their ſentiments, and their language:—"10th January 1519: The "quhilk day, the provoſt, baillies, and counſall,

(*w*) Mait. Hiſt. of Edinburgh, which quotes the records of the city.

" ſtatuts and ordains for reaſonable cauſe moving " ꝥaime ꝥat na maner of neighbour nor indweller " w'in ꝥis burt [burgh] put their bairins till ony " p̄ticulare ſcule within ꝥis toun but to ꝥe prin- " cipal grammer ſcule of the ſamyn to be teichit " in ony ſcience bot alanerlie *grace buke*, *prymar*, " and *plane donat*, under the pane of X ſh: to be " tane of ilk ny'bo' [neighbour] ꝥet breke, or dois " in ꝥe contrair heirof." (*x*)—The *Prymar*, and the *Plane Donat*, were the grammars, it appears, which were firſt uſed in the greater ſchools of Scotland, (*y*) as they had equally been in England. *The Donat* had the honour to be printed by Caxton, and by Fauſt.

But,

(*x*) The *Donat*, which is mentioned in this record, was a *grammar*: from Donatus, a celebrated grammarian, who was the preceptor of St. Jerome, and lived at Rome, in the year of the Chriſtian æra 354. By an eaſy tranſition, the *Donat* came to ſignify *the Elements* of any art.—" Then drave I me " among Drapers, my *Donat* to lerne," ſaid Chaucer.—[Tyrwhit's Gloſſary.]—Wintown, who may be conſidered as the contemporary of Chaucer, has the following paſſage, with regard to the uſe of *the Donat*, in the ſeminaries of Scotland, during his time.

[Wyntownis Cronykil: b. v. c. x. l. 704.]

" Donate Dan wes [354] in his ſtate,
" And in Dat tyme hys libell wrate,
" Dat now Barnys oyſys to lere
" At Daire begynnyng of gramere:
" And Sayncte Jerome in Dai yheris
" De beſt wes callyd of his ſcoleris."

(*y*) On the 14th of January 1567-8 Robert Leckpreuick was empowered, by writ of privy ſeal, to print excluſively,

The

But, as knowledge became more diffuſed, the judgment was no longer ſatisfied with philological inſtitutes, which could have only been uſed, in the infancy of letters. The grammar of Deſpauter was adopted in the North, as ſoon as it was ſeen, and long kept poſſeſſion of the Scottiſh ſeminaries. Deſpauter was a laborious grammarian of the ſixteenth century, who, after teaching at Louvain, Bois le Duc, and at other places, and diligently cultivating the Latin language, died at Comines, in 1520. (*z*) The grammar of that great philologiſt was in ſome meaſure ſuperſeded by the *Rudimenta grammatices* of Andrew Simpſon, who was firſt the ſchoolmaſter, (*a*) and afterwards the miniſter of Dunbar. His work was firſt printed at Edinburgh, in 1587. (*b*) A clear proof of the popular

The "buikes callit *Donatus pro Pueris, Rudimentis of Peliſſo,* "togedder with the gramer to be ſet furth callit the general "gramer to be uſid within ſcolis of this realme for erudi- "tioun of the zouth." Such were the popular ſchool-books at that epoch!

(*z*) The *Deſpauterij Rudimenta* was firſt printed by Schuren, at Straſburgh, in 1512. The *Syntaxis Deſpauterij* was printed, in the ſame houſe, 1515. The *Orthographiæ Præcepta Deſpauterij* was printed at Antwerp, by Hillen, in 1521.

(*a*) Simpſon had the honour of teaching the Latin language to David Hume of Wedderburn, who addreſſed to his old maſter one of his elegies. Vid. Humii Poemata, p. 11. and Simpſon addreſſed, *Ad Comitem Fermelodunenſem Carmen,* which was printed at Edinburgh, in 1610, 4to.

(*b*) Robert Smyth was empowered, in 1599, by writ of privy ſeal, to print "The plain Donat, The haill four pairtis

popular demand for books is the ſolicitations of the printers, for the excluſive right to print them. (*c*) The Rudiments of Simpſon was ſo grateful to the youth, that it was long the only inſtitute, which was much ſtudied in the Scottiſh ſchools. It was generally uſed, while Ruddiman was a boy. And there is reaſon to believe, that while Ruddiman was the maſter of Laurence Kirk, he taught the *Rudimenta Grammatices* of Simpſon, as the moſt uſeful grammar, which had then been introduced into the ſeminaries of his country.

Mean time, various ſchoolmaſters adopted different grammars, as they were prompted by their caprice, or directed by their judgments. The youth, as they were often driven from place to place by the plague, or ſometimes withdrawn by the fondneſs of parents, were obſtructed in their acquirements of knowledge, by the variety of rules, which the ſeveral maſters thought proper to teach.

" of grammar, according to Sebauſtiane, the Dialogues of " Corderius, the familiar Epiſtillis of Cecero, the ſecond " *Rudimentis of Dunbar*, the firſt *Rudimentis of Dunbar*, the " Feabillis of Æſope."—There was an edition of the Rudiments of Dunbar, by Andro Hart, in 1612; by Bryſon, in 1639; by the Stationers, in 1660; by John Reid, in 1680; and by John Moncur, in 1709. Theſe editions were all printed in 8vo. at Edinburgh.

(*c*) On the 17th of June 1606, Thomas Finlayſone was empowered, by writ of privy ſeal, to print excluſively, " The " firſt, and ſecond, Dunbar Rudimentis, and Corderius's " Colloquies."

The legiſlature at length interpoſed. (*d*) In imitation of Henry VIII. who exerted his power to introduce uniformity of teaching, the parliament of Scotland authorized, in 1607, as Henry had done, in 1545, proper commiſſioners, for ſettling "*the* "*moſt approven grammar*," which, "being *prentit* "ſuld n all tyme cumming be univerſallie "teachit, in all the pairtis of this realme, by the "haill teacheares of grammar." (*e*) The good intention of the legiſlature appears to have been attended, in 1607, with as little ſucceſs, as it had been, at any former period. The parliamentary commiſſioners appointed the new grammar of Alexander Hume to be taught, in the ſchools of Scotland, (*f*) without eſtabliſhing at laſt uniformity of teaching; ſo difficult is it to ſettle what depends on the changes of caprice by legiſlative authority.

David Wedderburne, the maſter of the grammar ſchool of Aberdeen, who had been the inſtructor of Arthur Johnſton, and was a contri-

(*d*) In Glendock's Acts, p. 364, there is mention of an unprinted act "for ane grammer to be univerſalle teachit," An. 1597. 15 Ja. 6. But, this act could not, upon the moſt careful ſearch, be found among the records!

(*e*) See the APPENDIX, N° 2. for "The Commiſſioun "anent Grammer and Teacheris thereof."

(*f*) Humij (Alex.) Grammatica Nova in uſum juventutis Scotiæ, et Auctoritate Senatus omnibus regni Scholis imperata.—Edinb. 1612. 8vo.

butor to the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, (*g*) applied to parliament, in the year 1633; "desiring that the "short and facile grammar drawin up be him might "be allowit and ordainit to be taught through "all the schooles of the kingdome, and all other "grammars dischargit to be taught within the sa-"myne." Wedderburne's *Short Introduction to Grammar* was printed, at Aberdeen, in 1632. He appears not to have obtained the monopoly, which his vanity, or his avarice, demanded. Other schoolmasters successfully contested with him the palm of philology. And, several grammars were introduced into general use, by private caprice, rather than by public authority, till the general approbation finally adopted *Ruddiman's Rudiments*, without the aid of parliamentary sanction.

In the mean time, Ruddiman, for three years and a half, spent his days, in teaching the boys of Laurence Kirk the rules of grammar, and his nights, in instructing himself in the niceties of classical learning. In the retirement of this village, his diligence naturally pursued the precept, which his reading had taught him:—

"Exerce studium, quamvis perceperis artem."

It was towards the end of the year 1699, that an accident opened new prospects to his penetrating sight. The celebrated Dr. Pitcairne, being

(*g*) See the 2d vol. p. 544; and, *The Parerga Johnstoni*, Aberd. 1632, p. 37.

detained

detained by violence of weather, at this inconſiderable hamlet, which had not yet a library at the inn, felt the miſery of having nothing to do. (*b*) Wanting ſociety, he inquired, if there were no perſon in the village, who could interchange converſation, and would partake of his dinner. The hoſteſs informed him, that the ſchoolmaſter, though young, was ſaid to be learned, and though modeſt, ſhe was ſure, could talk. Thus met Pitcairne, at the age of forty-ſeven, with Ruddiman, at twenty-five. Their literature, their politics, and their general caſt of mind, were mutually pleaſing to each other. Pitcairne invited Ruddiman to Edinburgh, offered him his patronage, and performed, in the end, what is not always experienced, as much as he originally promiſed.

Of that illuſtrious phyſician, the biographers have been more diligent to trace the antiquity of his race, than careful to tell us the name of his father. He was undoubtedly ſprung from the family of Pitcairne, in Fife, which is itſelf a branch of the ſtock of Forthar, in the ſame ſhire. His father was Alexander Pitcairne, a trader, and

(*b*) See Mr. Boſwell's *Tour*, p. 75.—Dr. Johnſon inſiſted on ſtopping at the inn, at Laurence Kirk, when I told him that Lord Gardenſton had furniſhed it with a collection of books, that travellers might have entertainment for the mind as well as the body. The doctor praiſed the deſign; but wiſhed there had been more books, and thoſe better choſen.

a ma-

a magiſtrate, of Edinburgh; his mother was a Sydſerf of the family of Ruthlaw, in the county of Lothian: and he was born, in that city, on the 25th December 1652.

The ſchool of Dalkieth had the honour of teaching Pitcairne the elements of language. In 1668, he entered the univerſity of Edinburgh, where, ſtudying philoſophy under profeſſor William Paterſon, he obtained his Maſter of Arts degree, in 1671, the ſame year, wherein his father acted as baillie of Edinburgh. Pitcairne ſeems now to have gratified himſelf with the delights of promiſcuous ſtudy, till fixing on the law, he purſued it with ſuch activity as to loſe his health. Being adviſed by the phyſicians to ſeek abroad for what he had thus loſt at home, he went to Paris; where, becoming enamoured of phyſic, he forſook the law. His father, diſapproving of this youthful unſteadineſs, which could lead to no profitable profeſſion, ſoon recalled him. Becoming acquainted, on his return, with profeſſor David Gregory, he attached himſelf to the ſtudy of the mathematics, which purſuing with predetermined ardour, he made ſome improvements in the method of *Infinite Series*, which had been then lately invented. And, ſeeing, as the biographers aſſure us, ſome neceſſary connection between phyſic and geometry, he finally fixed on phyſic for his profeſſion.

But, at Edinburgh, there was then no other medical

medical ſchool than the chambers of the ſick, and the ſhops of the practitioners. And, in 1675, he again repaired to the ſeat of ſcience, at Paris, where, genius and diligence uniting together, he advanced with rapid progreſs in his profeſſional career. He appears to have ſtudied phyſic hiſtorically, in order to trace the knowledge of the antients, that he might perceive the diſcoveries of the moderns. On the 13th of Auguſt 1680, he received the degree of Doctor in Medicine, from the faculty at Rheims. And, returning ſoon after to Edinburgh, in order to practiſe the healing art, which he had thus acquired, he was named among the perſons, who were then the moſt eminent for medical knowledge, in the patent, that inſtituted the Royal College of Phyſicians, in his native city, on the 29th of November 1681.

Being at laſt ſettled in practice, he ere long roſe to the heights and profits of his profeſſion. While walking on theſe eminences, he caſt his eyes on Margaret, the daughter of Colonel James Hay, of Pitfour, whom he married, and by whom he had a ſon, and a daughter. A few years deprived him ſucceſſively of his children, and his wife, to whom he addreſſed an affectionate copy of Latin verſes. He continued, however, to augment his practice, with great diligence, and to extend his fame, with uncommon ſucceſs. And, with deſign to promote both, he publiſhed, in 1688,

1688, his *Solutio Problematis de Inventoribus.* In this treatiſe, he zealouſly aſſerted the right of Harvey to the diſcovery of the circulation of the blood, who thereby laid the foundation for the mechanic principles of phyſic, which, in this country, Pitcairne firſt brought into vogue. In the midſt of his ſucceſs, *the Revolution* gave him irreconcileable chagrin. His loyalty, which was hereditary in his family, ſaw none of thoſe cauſes of *forfaulture*, which *the Convention* had found in the miſconduct of King James. He deplored the ſtate of Scotland in Latin verſe: He wrote the charming lines, which Dryden tranſlated with a ſimilar ſpirit, on the death of Lord Dundee, in the moment of victory, at the battle of Killikranky, in 1689. This diſguſt made Pitcairne more eaſily accept an invitation from the curators of the univerſity of Leyden to be profeſſor of phyſic, in that illuſtrious ſeminary.

It was on the 26th of April 1692, that he pronounced his inaugural oration, in which he explained the beſt mode of improving phyſic. Whatever celebrity he gained, on that occaſion, acute obſervers remarked, that it is always an eaſier taſk to deſtroy old foundations, than to erect a new fabric. And, Boërhaave, who, when he ſpeaks on the beſt method of ſtudying phyſic, has an indiſputable right to an attentive hearing, gave it as his opinion that, except as to the circulation of the blood, Pitcairne aſſumed too much,

much, by allowing his fancy to impoſe upon his judgment.

When Pitcairne departed to Leyden, he left his love at Edinburgh. And, returning, in 1693, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Archibald Stevenſon, who was one of the King's phyſicians, and who was honoured by Pitcairne with ſome copies of verſes. This lady brought him ſeveral children, and much felicity. The ſame cauſe, which had induced Pitcairne to return to his native city, now obliged him to ſtay, though he regretted the deprivation of his profeſſorſhip, while Leyden equally lamented the loſs of her profeſſor.

At this epoch of his life, Pitcairne renewed with augmented ſucceſs, his practice at Edinburgh. He continued to divert himſelf, and his friends, with Latin poetry, in which he is allowed to have equalled the beſt of the moderns. He wrote verſes in praiſe of Newton, before Newton had riſen ſuperior to praiſe. Yet, has it been truly ſaid, that Pitcairne ſpoke contemptuouſly of other men, who, with leſs learning indeed, were yet intitled to juſtice. In 1696, he fell upon Sir Robert Sibbald, who has deſerved well of the antiquarian world, and who had contributed more to the progreſs of knowledge, by his diligence, had his judgment been equal to his learning. What provocation he had, or what apology he made, for aſſaulting Sir Robert's *Prodromus*, in his

his *Diſſertatio de legibus Hiſtoriæ Naturalis*, cannot now be known. (*i*) The biographers ſpeak upon the point, as if they either knew not the truth, or choſe not to tell it. With this ſpeck on his perſonal character, he roſe to be the firſt phyſician of his country, in his time. The univerſity of Aberdeen conferred upon him the degree of Doctor, on the 7th of Auguſt 1699. And the ſurgeons of Edinburgh invited him to be a member of their college, on the 16th of October 1701; an honour, which no other phyſician has ever enjoyed. (*k*) Such was Pitcairne, when he ſaw Ruddiman

(*i*) Of this tract, which is in my collection, the following is the title-page: "Archibaldi Pitcarnij Diſſertatio, de "Legibus Hiſtoriæ Naturalis. Edinburgi, Typis Joannis "Reid, et Sumptibus Thomæ Carruthers, apud quem Ve"niunt. Anno Dom. 1696." It is not, then, anonymous, as ſome ſuppoſe; and it ſeems impoſſible, that Pitcairne, could have diſavowed, as other biographers aſſert, what was openly printed, at the place of his reſidence.

(*k*) In the Britiſh Muſeum, there is the original ſketch of the life of Pitcairne, which was inſerted in the Biographia Britannica; and which had been ſent to Doctor Birch by Doctor John Clerk of Edinburgh, on the 7th of September 1738. [MSS. Birch No. 4223.] There is a collection of letters from Pitcairne to Doctor Robert Grey of London, in MSS. Sloan No. 3216. Theſe letters are very inſtructive, very animated, and very humorous. On the 14th of October 1694, he informed Doctor Grey of his being very buſy in ſeeking a liberty from the town council of Edinburgh to open the bodies of thoſe poor perſons, who die in *Paul's-Work* and have none to own them. "We offer," ſays he, "to "wait

diman in the obſcurity of Lawrence Kirk, diſtinguiſhed his worth, and placed him in a better light, at Edinburgh.

When Ruddiman came to that city, in 1700, he found it inhabited by thirty thouſand people, who were divided by faction, without being invigorated by rivalſhip. Edinburgh, without enjoying the comforts of elegance, did not then pretend to the gaieties of ſplendour. Her youth were inſtructed at a grammar ſchool, which, in early times, had been erected within her walls. It was from the bounty of King James, that ſhe derived the illuminations of an univerſity, which, in 1700, did not however teach profeſſedly the ſciences of phyſic, or of law. And ſhe had, ſince the year 1532, had the preſence of a College of Juſtice,

" wait on theſe poor, for nothing, and bury them after diſ-
" ſection, at our own charges, which now the town does;
" yet, there is great oppoſition by the chief ſurgeons, who
" neither eat hay, nor ſuffer the oxen to eat it. I do pro-
" poſe, if this be granted, to make better improvements in
" anatomy, than have been made at Leyden theſe thirty
" years: For, I think moſt or all anatomiſts have neglected,
" or not known, what was moſt uſeful for a phyſician." On the 15th of October 1694, the town council complied with that requeſt of Pitcairne; and thereby laid the foundation ſtone of the great ſchool of phyſic, in that city. Pitcairne ſays, that they did not then know how to treat the ſmall-pox: and he laughs immoderately at two of the Edinburgh phyſicians, whom he names, for having killed Sir Robert Sibbald's daughter, who died of that diſeaſe. The *Praxis Pitcarnij* may be ſeen in Sloan MSS, No. 2582.

which

which diſtributed right, in the ſhape of ſyſtem, and at length formed a faculty of lawyers.

The year 1682 may be conſidered, as the epoch of the eſtabliſhment of *The Advocates Library*, which naturally attracted Ruddiman, though for ſome months, after his arrival, he had not a formal engagement in it. Sir George Mackenzie of Roſehaugh, who was born, in 1636, and died, in 1691, after riſing to the head of his profeſſion, as a lawyer, and to eminence in literature, as a ſcholar, is entitled to the honour of founding that uſeful collection of law, hiſtory, and ſcience. He it was, who projected this library; it was he, who, at the foundation of it, pronounced an inaugural oration, diſplaying its advantages, and ſuggeſting its improvement; it was he, who ſhewed an example to others, by making it ſeveral donations. Like other eſtabliſhments, its commencement was inconſiderable; its funds were uncertain; and its progreſs in utility was ſlow. But, frequent contributions augmented its numerous volumes, both printed, and manuſcript. And, a ſettled fund for the uſes of the library was at length eſtabliſhed. As every advocate, on his admiſſion to the honours and profits of the profeſſion, was obliged to pay a certain ſum, *the faculty of advocates* appropriated a part of this *admiſſion-money* to the augmentation of their books. When Ruddiman was firſt admitted into *The Advocates library*, it was kept in Mills-Square. And the librarian, at this æra, was Mr. Steven-

ſon.

ſon. (*l*) When Ruddiman had yet no ſettled engagement there, he employed himſelf in arranging books, copying papers, and in making extracts from intereſting authors. (*m*) Ruddiman, with all his propenſion to ſtudy, ſeems to have been fond of matrimony, either from a deſire of the ſociety, it gives, or from a conviction of the uſefulneſs, it brings. In 1701, he married for his firſt wife, Barbara Scollay, the daughter of Scollay of Oatneſs, a gentleman of a ſmall eſtate, in the Orkney iſlands. She brought him a good connection, but little fortune.

It was at the end of twenty years, from its firſt foundation, that Ruddiman became formally connected with *The Advocates Library*, at the age of twenty-eight. On the 2d of May 1702, he made his firſt entry, as aſſiſtant librarian. On the 22d, and 23d, of the ſame month, the library was removed from Mill's Square to the under parliament houſe, where it ſtill unhappily remains. Mr. Steveniſon died, on the 22d of July 1702; and Mr. John Spottiſwoode, who is ſtill remembered

(*l*) Ruddiman's pocket-book, which was communicated to me; and which contains, in his own hand-writing, many curious particulars of his earlieſt tranſactions at Edinburgh, from the 2d of May 1702.

(*m*) In a manuſcript liſt of his library, entitled "Bibliotheca Ruddimanniana," there is the following entry:—"A book of Excerptions out of ſeveral authors, made by "Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, from 22d November 1701, to "27 January 1702—MS. 4to."

for his valuable publications, (*n*) and perſonal worth, was appointed the overſeer, till January 1703.

The Spottiſwoodes of Spottiſwoode, in Berwickſhire, are a very ancient family, which has given an archbiſhop and a chancellor, eminent ſtateſmen, and brave warriors, to Scotland. The ſon of the archbiſhop, Sir Robert Spottiſwoode, the lord preſident of the court of ſeſſion, (*o*) died on the ſcaffold, on the 20th January 1646, for his adherence to his ſovereign, during the civil wars, and for his attachment to the laws. His ſon Alexander, having inherited the principles, and profeſſion of his father, fought with Charles II. at the unfortunate battle of Worceſter, and

(*n*) 1. His ſpeech at the election of repreſentatives in parliament for the ſhire of Berwick, 1702. 4to.

2. He publiſhed Practiques of the Law of Scotland, by Sir Robert Spottiſwoode, with Memoirs of his Life. Edinburgh, 1706. folio.

3. An Introduction to the Knowledge of the Style of Writs, made uſe of in Scotland, Edinburgh, 1708. 4to.

4. The Law concerning the Election of Members of Parliament, to ſit and vote in the Parliament of Great Britain. Edinburgh, 1710. 4to.

5. The Form of Proceſs before the Lords of Seſſion. To which was prefixed the preſent State of the College of Juſtice. Edinburgh, in 1711. 8vo.

(*o*) He was appointed a lord of ſeſſion by the title of lord New Abbey, on the 14th of February 1626, and lord preſident on the 1ſt of November 1633. [Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 8,-9.]

died

died in 1675. By Helen, a daughter of John Trotter of Morton hall, Alexander left John Spottiſwoode, who was born at Edinburgh, on the 28th of November 1667, and who was educated at the ſchool of Kelſo, and the college of Edinburgh. He, chooſing juriſprudence for his profeſſion, ſerved an apprenticeſhip with James Hay, an eminent writer to the ſignet, in order to learn the practice of the law, which ſtudying afterwards in its theory at Leyden, he was admitted by *The Faculty*, at Edinburgh, an advocate, in December 1696. About the year 1698, he had the honour of being the firſt, who opened ſchools, in his own houſe indeed, for teaching profeſſedly the Roman, and the Scottiſh, laws, which he continued to teach at Edinburgh, though not in the univerſity, for ſix-and-twenty years.

It was in January 1703, that John Spottiſwoode was appointed, with Adam Coult, the joint keeper of the Advocates Library, under whom Ruddiman acted, till February 1728. John Spottiſwoode married, in 1710, Helen Arbuthnot, the daughter of the viſcount of Arbuthnot, and the widow of John Macfarlane of Macfarlane, by whom ſhe had the late Walter Macfarlane, who is ſo juſtly celebrated for his Celtic literature, and antiquarian knowledge. By her, Spottiſwoode left John Spottiſwoode of Spottiſwoode, the late venerable repreſentative of that reſpectable family, who died at the age of eighty-two, on the 11th of March 1793.

Such was Spottiſwoode, whom Ruddiman ſo long aſſiſted, as the keeper of the Advocates Library, and ſometimes helped, as the editor of books. It was, mean time, on the 28th of July 1703, that Ruddiman gave to Spottiſwoode and Coult his bond, with William Simpſon, his mother's brother, for ſecurity, "That he would make "forth coming all books and other things, which "at preſent are, or ſhould thereafter be brought "into the library, according to ſigned catalogues "of the ſame." His ſalary was a hundred pounds Scots, or eight pounds, ſix ſhillings, and eight pence, ſterling, which were payable half yearly. His uncommon diligence was ſoon obſerved. On the 26th of October 1703, he was paid fifty pounds, Scots, as an extra allowance, for his extraordinary pains. He had moreover, an honorary preſent from every ſtudent, when he was about to be admitted an advocate, for correcting his theſis. He was paid alſo for copying manuſcripts for the uſe of *the library*. (*p*) The learning, and judgment, the activity, and attention, which Ruddiman invariably exerted, for the benefit of this inſtitution, during fifty years, have juſtly gained him the honour of being the ſecond founder of *The Advocates Library*. (*q*)

(*p*) I found the accurate informations, which are contained in this paragraph, in *Ruddiman's pocket-book*.

(*q*) See Mr. Brown's judicious preface to the firſt volume of the Catalogue, which Ruddiman and Goodal compiled.

The

The prevailing ſentiment in the heart of Ruddiman, during his whole life, was *piety*. When he reſolved on any great undertaking, he determined to work ſteadily, but to truſt in the aſſiſtance of God. When he formed a ſtate of his debts, of his credits, and of his expectations, *I refer*, ſaid he, *the event of all to God.* (*r*) As to *modes of faith*, he was an Epiſcopalian. And, in December 1703, he agreed to pay forty ſhillings, Scots, for *his ſeat*, during two years, in *Gray's Cloſe meeting houſe.* (*ſ*) Who the preacher was, or whether he prayed for the Queen, I am unable to tell.

His attention to the *Advocates Library* did not engage his whole activity. In the years, 1703, 1704, and 1705, he tranſcribed much from the *chronicles*, and *chartularies*, which were depoſited under his care. The univerſity of Glaſgow gave him ſteady employment, in what he then regarded as agreeable labour. (*t*) He was very poor: and

(*r*) Ruddiman's pocket-book.

(*ſ*) Ruddiman's pocket-book.

(*t*) In Ruddiman's pocket-book are the following entries:—1703, Received of the univerſity of Glaſgow 25 l. Scots, for tranſcribing a MS. called *Extracta ex Chronicis Scotiæ.*—24 March 1704, received of the ſame 47 l. Scots, for tranſcribing the firſt volume of Sir James Balfour's Annals of 424 folios. October 1705, received of Mr. Hamilton, 7 l. 2 s. for tranſcribing nineteen ſheets of a MS.—8 November 1705, I reſolved (by God's aſſiſtance) to write as much

and he thus laudably determined to be rich, by his diligence. He was extremely punctual in all his tranſactions. And on the 25th of March 1704, he was careful to note, "that all the money he "had ever borrowed was paid." For ſeveral years, after his arrival at Edinburgh, he had much intercourſe of kindneſs, and buſineſs, with his uncle, William Simpſon. And, his brother John, being at Edinburgh, in July 1703, partook of our author's bounty, who found the means of being bountiful, in his attentive induſtry. All theſe particulars, I have mentioned, for the benefit of ſuch young men, who, like Ruddiman, ſally out into the world, to look for a livelihood; that they may imitate his diligence, and honeſty, and truſt, with his piety, in the aid of God.

With that prudent induſtry, which never left him, during life, he reſumed his old employment, early in 1705. He, at this time, began to teach ſuch ſtudents, as wiſhed to profit from his knowledge. Some came to him: he went to others. (*u*) He

much as I am able of the MS. I ſhall have occaſion to tranſcribe; and to take exact notice of the progreſs I make weekly. I deſign (God willing) to write ſix ſheets a week. He had then tranſcribed eighty-eight ſheets of the Chartulary of Murray.

(*u*) In Ruddiman's pocket-book there are the following entries: "12 March 1705, Alexander Dean began to be "taught.—21ſt June 1705, Thomas Smith entered.— "26 June 1605, I began to go to Dunſinnan [the ſon of "Nairn,

He appears to have ere long extended his plan. In the beginning of 1706, he received the ſons of reſpectable parents into his family, who probably expected to derive an advantage from his learning, and to enjoy the benefit of his converſation. John Kininmonth; the Laird of Gairſay, the younger; Mathew Mackail; James Halden, the younger of Gleneagles; Patrick Steuart; George Dunbar; and James Ogilvy of Achirries; (*x*) were the liberal youths, who, in this manner, ſought for inſtruction under the roof of Ruddiman. This ſpecification of names puts an end to the tradition, that our author taught the elements of grammar to the late Mareſchal Keith, Mac Dowall, who roſe to be Lord Bankton; and to

" Nairn, a Baronet.]—15 January 1706, William Miller " entered.—7 June 1706, Dr. Pitcairne entered his ſon An- " drew to be taught, and *gave me two guineas.*" He ſpeaks, in another place, of " the *moſt generous* Dr. Pitcairne."

(*x*) Ruddiman made the following entries in his pocket-book: 13 June 1706, I agreed with Mr. James Kininmonth, who is to pay 20 l. for his chamber, for half a year.—16 June 1706, agreed with the Laird of Gairſay, younger, who is to pay for his chamber 30 l. Scots, for half a year.—James Halden, the younger of Gleneagles, and Patrick Steuart, agreed jointly and ſeverally for a chamber at 3 l. ſterling for half a year.—March 1707, George Dunbar entered on his chamber.—12 July 1709, James Ogilvy of Achirries entered on his chamber.

to others, who arrived at leſs eminence, by their actions in the field, or by their ſtudies in the cloſet.

Ruddiman's connection with the bookſellers of Edinburgh commenced in 1706; owing to their deſire of help, and to his wiſh for gain. He no doubt felt—

" Cum mercede labor gratior eſſe poteſt."

And, he was, from this conſideration probably induced to correct, in 1706, Sir Robert Sibbald's *Introductio ad Hiſtoriam rerum a' Romanis Geſtarum in ea Borealis Britanniæ parte quæ ultra murum Picticum eſt.* (*y*) When John Spottiſwoode publiſhed, *The Practiques of the Laws of Scotland*, by Sir Robert Spottiſwoode, the Lord Preſident of the Seſſion, (*z*) he aſked the aid of Ruddiman, for which he paid him five pound ſterling. (*a*)

In every period of his life, Ruddiman followed a very laudable practice of making ſtatements of his affairs, that he might frequently ſee the amount of his credits and his debts. At the end of 1706, he drew up a very exact ſtate of both, whence he perceived, that after making every deduction, he had a clear balance of 28 l. 2 s. with juſt expectations, amounting to 236 l. 7 s.

(*y*) It was printed in folio, at Edinburgh, in 1706. From Freebairn, the bookſeller, Ruddiman received for his aſſiſtance three pounds ſterling. [Ruddiman's pocket-book.]

(*z*) It was printed at Edinburgh, in 1706, in folio.

(*a*) Ruddiman's pocket-book.

6 d.

6d. Scots. (*b*) Here is another example in the practice of Ruddiman, which, were it copied, would help the young to enter life with ſafety, and enable the old to leave the world with comfort!

Our author was induced by his habitual activity to commence auctioneer, in 1707, for which he was well qualified, by his knowledge of books, and his punctuality in buſineſs. He naturally dealt in ſchool-books, (*c*) when he inſtructed ſcholars.

In 1707, he gave an edition of Voluſenus *de Animi Tranquilitate Dialogus*. Wilſon was a Scotſman, who was born at Elgin, in the county of Murray, was educated at Aberdeen and Paris, and who was patronized by Wolſey; and, wandering into Italy, attracted the notice of the celebrated Cardinal Sadolet, by his ſkill in the Latin, and the Greek, languages. His dialogue on the *Tranquillity of the Mind* was firſt printed, by Gryphius, at Leyden, in 1543. (*d*) Wilſon died on his road to Scotland, in 1547, at Vienne in Dauphiny. Buchanan, by writing his epitaph, paid a tribute to his learning, and his virtues. And, Freebairn, the bookſeller, from the hope of

(*b*) Ruddiman's pocket-book; whence it appears, that his houſe-rent was thirty-ſix pounds a year, and that the weekly expences of his family amounted to three pounds, Scots.

(*c*) Ruddiman's pocket-book mentions both thoſe facts.

(*d*) It was printed at Edinburgh, 1571, in 8vo. [Herb. 3. v. 1493.]

gain,

gain, ſummoned Ruddiman to correct the typographical errors of Gryphius; to give a new preface; and to ſubjoin a ſketch of the life of Wilſon; *Voluſeni Ortus, Vita, et Mors.* (*e*) There was another edition of this book printed at Edinburgh, in 1751, with a preface by John Ward, the profeſſor of Greſham College, who dedicated his work, without any notice of the labours of others, to Wiſhart, the principal of the Univerſity of Edinburgh.

The various avocations of Ruddiman did not prevent his learned diligence from engaging in greater labours. He publiſhed, in 1709, *Johnſtoni Cantici Solomonis paraphraſis poetica.* Arthur Johnſton, who has had the honour of being placed in competition with Buchanan, was born at Caſkieben, near Aberdeen, in 1587. Having applied himſelf to the ſtudy of phyſic, he obtained at Padua, in 1610, the degree of Doctor in Medicine: and travelling through Europe, he returned to Scotland, in 1632, with a high reputation for Latin poetry. (*f*) He, about that time,

(*e*) This new edition was printed by Robert Freebairn, at Edinburgh, in 1707, 8vo. There is a life of Florence Wilſon in Mackenzie's Lives of Scottiſh writers, vol. 3. p. 29—34.

(*f*) I have in my collection: "Epigrammata Arturi "Johnſtoni, Scoti, Medici Regij. Abredoniæ, Excud. Ed. "Rabanus, 1632:" Whence, I am led to ſuſpect, that Johnſton muſt have returned ſooner than 1632, when he was already the King's phyſician.

became

became phyſician to Charles I. by the intereſt of Laud, who was pleaſed with *his Pſalms*, which were firſt completely printed at Aberdeen, in 1637. In this year, he edited the *Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, to which he was himſelf a large contributor; and which, ſays Doctor Johnſon, *would have done honour to any country.* (*g*) This learned phyſician, and admirable poet, died, at Oxford, in 1641, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His works were printed at Middleburgh, in 1642, at the expence of Scot of Scotſtarvit, the author of the *Staggering State of Scottiſh Stateſmen*, who was himſelf a poet. And, in 1709, Ruddiman publiſhed *Johnſtoni Cantica*, with notes, which he dedicated, in a copy of verſes, to Doctor Pitcairne. (*h*) But, it is doubtful, whether it were on this occaſion, that the phyſician preſented the dedicator with a ſilver cup, (*i*) which was inſcribed with a couplet from Horace:

"Narratur et priſci Catonis,
"Sæpe mero incaluiſſe virtus."

—The gold of Johnſton was afterwards tarniſhed, by the injudicious admiration of auditor Benſon,

(*g*) In his journey to the Weſtern Iſlands.

(*h*) It appears from Ruddiman's pocket-book, that an edition of two hundred, of the *Cantica*, coſt him five pounds ten ſhillings, ſterling, which he ſold at a ſhilling each copy.

(*i*) This cup was of a ſmall ſize, and ſcarcely contained the half of an Engliſh pint: it remained in Ruddiman's family, till the houſe was entered by robbers, who carried off this honourable mark of Pitcairne's kindneſs.

who

who attempted to raiſe him, as a poet, to a ſuperiority over Buchanan, the modern, and even to an equality with Horace, the ancient.

Ruddiman, amidſt all his avocations, and his other labours, was ſoon to produce what brought him greater gain, and has conferred upon him more laſting fame. At the epoch of the union, Robert Freebairn, the bookſeller, had undertaken to publiſh a new edition of *Virgil's Æneid*, as it had been tranſlated into Scottiſh verſe, by the famous Gawin Douglas. Our celebrated tranſlator ſprang from an Earl of Angus, in 1475, and became by his merit, as much as by his connection, the Biſhop of Dunkeld, in 1516. He enjoyed ſeveral offices, in the church, and performed many ſervices to the ſtate. He charmed, and civilized, his countrymen, by the emanations of his muſe. And he finiſhed his wonderful tranſlation of the Æneid, in 1513, which was firſt printed, at London, by Copland, in 1553. The poet mean time died, at London, while he was acting as a negociator, in 1522. The celebrity of his name, and the popularity of his poem, enabled Freebairn to publiſh his *new edition*, after ſome delay, in 1710.

The publiſher found ſeveral learned men, whom, as they were proud to lend their aid, he is ſtudious to thank for their various contributions. He acknowledges obligations to Nicholſon, the Biſhop of Carliſle, to Sir Robert Sibbald, Doctor Pit-

Pitcairne, Doctor Drummond, and to Mr. John Urry of Chriſt church, Oxford. The elaborate life of our great poet, which is prefixed to the work, was contributed by Biſhop Sage, who probably deſired the concealment of his author-ſhip, and who died, as we ſhall find, in the ſub-ſequent year. The publiſher, however, thought himſelf obliged, by gratitude, to acknowledge, how much indebted he had been to the care of the judicious Thomas Ruddiman, who, in his opinion, "deſerved all reſpect and encourage-"ment from the patrons of virtue and let-"ters." The fact is, that Freebairn owed more to Ruddiman than he mentions. It was Ruddi-man, who ſuperintended the work, and corrected the preſs; who wrote "*The large Gloſſary*, ex-"plaining the difficult words, and ſerving for a "dictionary to the old Scottiſh language." (*k*)

Sir David Dalrymple, the late Lord Hailes, was the firſt to do juſtice to the unrewarded la-bours of Ruddiman. This excellent judge re-marks, of the editor of *The Evergreen* that, as a gloſſariſt, he does not ſeem to have conſulted the

(*k*) In his pocket-book, Ruddiman charged Freebairn, for correcting G. D. [Gawin Douglas's Virgil] *writing the gloſſary*, &c. a hundred pounds Scots, of which he acknow-ledged to have received forty-eight pounds. By this docu-ment, is the authorſhip aſcertained; and by this evidence, is it proved, that Ruddiman was allowed 8 l. 6 s. 8 d. ſter-ling, for performing one of the moſt elaborate works in our language.

gloſſary

gloſſary to Douglas's Virgil; and, with regard to Ruddiman, adds this able critic, "that they "who have not conſulted this gloſſary cannot "acquire a competent knowledge of the ancient "Scottiſh dialect, unleſs by infinite and ungrate-"ful labour. This eulogium is the leaſt I can "beſtow on the learning and accuracy of Mr. "Thomas Ruddiman. His modeſty was ſtill "more remarkable than his learning; for he "ſuffered his gloſſary to go forth into the world, "without the name of its author."

——— Sine pondere terram,
Spiranteſque crocos, et in urna perpetuum ver,

"is the *Claſſical* wiſh of one, who has profited "by the labours of this ſtudious, intelligent, and "modeſt, man." (*l*)

Freebairn's edition of *Virgil's Æneid* is a moſt judicious publication. It opens with the life of the author, which contains all that well-informed diligence could collect, and to which is ſubjoined *The judgment of learned men, concerning Gawin Douglas.* Then follows a modeſt, yet inſtructive, *preface*, by Freebairn, which was probably ſketched by Ruddiman. It gives a ſhort account of the preſent undertaking. The editors did not follow, ſays the prefacer, the example of *thoſe bold critics, who do not ſtick to alter*

(*l*) See the preface to Bannatyne's ancient Scottiſh poems, p. ix.

in

in authors what they do not underſtand. The incorrectneſs of the copy, or the negligence of the printer, they were ſtudious to amend by the help of an excellent manuſcript, in the college of Edinburgh. The large gloſſary was neither at firſt deſigned, we are told, nor promiſed by them. On this head it is ſaid, with the modeſty of Ruddiman, that it muſt be frankly confeſſed, there are ſome very few words, concerning the meaning of which, we could only make probable conjectures. After the preface, follow *General Rules for underſtanding the Language of Biſhop Douglas's Tranſlation of Virgil's Æneid.* Theſe *General Rules*, amounting to forty-two, were undoubtedly written by Ruddiman, and were compiled with great accuracy of thought, and preciſion of language. He who wiſhes for inſtruction, with regard to the old Teutonick language of our iſland, will find, in this tract, ſatisfactory information.

The reader is, in this manner, conducted to *The Gloſſary*, which is ſo copious as to be a comprehenſive dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon language of Scotland, and of England, previous to the ſeventeenth century. Without aiming at perfection, which the author knew was unattainable, he only laboured to be uſeful. Yet, has the gloſſary of Ruddiman been cenſured, *as wanting many words which actually exiſt in the tranſlation*; and

and *a great many more are ſo diſtorted by falſe derivations, that they only ſerve to multiply our doubts.* (*m*) Our gloſſariſt only profeſſed to give *the difficult words.* And, it muſt be allowed, that he had not provided himſelf with an Arabic Lexicon, a Perſian Dictionary, and a Shanſcrit Vocabulary, to enable him to ſearch the deſarts of Arabia, the hills of Perſia, and the plains of Indoſtan, for the etymological origin of the Anglo-Saxon language. He was led by his judgment to draw his etymons from the moſt obvious ſources. He diſcovered many in the traditions of his country, ſtill more in the Teutonic dialects, and many in the antiquated French. When he had found what he ſought, he ſtopt ſhort in his reſearches, without affecting any coxcomical diſplay of etymological erudition. His great aim was, what he undoubtedly attained, to help the unſkilful reader; but it was not to exhibit his own attainments. Etymology is ſo clearly not a neceſſary branch of the duty of a gloſſariſt, that I truſt, ſays the learned Tyrwhit, (*n*) I ſhall be eaſily excuſed for not having troubled the reader with more frequent digreſſions of that ſort. Thus we ſee, that Ruddiman, in his avowed practice, preceded Tyrwhit, in his judicious precept.

(*m*) The Introduction to *Two Ancient Scottiſh Poems*, p. 8. by Callendar of Craigforth.

(*n*) Advertiſement, p. iii. to his Gloſſary to Chaucer.

Had

Had Ruddiman been better acquainted, it is ſaid, (*o*) with the *Northern* languages, he would have known, that the origin of the word *deroy* is of much higher antiquity than the old French *deſroyer*. The critic makes out his point with true etymological impertinence: he cites words from the Gothic, from the Iſlandic, from the Saxon, from the Scythian, from the Welſh, from the Belgic, from the Swediſh, and from the Latin, without one particle of reſemblance. Ruddiman

(*o*) By Callendar in his *Chriſt's Kirk on the Green*, p. 103. The objection of Callendar is ill-placed. Had he objected to Ruddiman, his ignorance of *Celtic*, the aboriginal language of his country, there had been more propriety, and greater uſe. For want of Celtic knowledge, Ruddiman is certainly miſtaken in ſeveral of his etymons. *Bry*, or *Brae*, our gloſſariſt explains to mean, the ſide of a hill, or bank of a river, from the Anglo-Saxon *Bracan*, or French *Braye*. But, the Scottiſh *Brae* is plainly Britiſh in its origin. Thus: Bri in Corniſh is a hill, or promontory: Welſh, Bre; whence *Pen-bre Moel-Ure*.—*Loch*, ſays Ruddiman, is a lake from the Latin *Lacus*. But, *Loch* is plainly Iriſh, though the Engliſh orthography is *Loghe*.—Leiche, ſays Ruddiman, is a phyſician from the Ang. Sax. Laece, a leech: But, *Leiche* is probably from the Iriſh *Liogh*, a phyſician: whence, *Leigheas*, Leighios, for medicine, help, &c. There are a great variety of words, which are ſpoken daily by Ruddiman's countrymen, and are conſidered as of Saxon derivation though they be Celtic in their origin. Thus: *Kraig* is in Welſh a rock. A *cupboard* is *Amri* in Corniſh, in Welſh *Almari*. *Mart* is *Erſe* for a fat cow. Kirk's Voc. Nic. Hiſt. lib. p. 102. But, this is a ſubject, which requires the ample extent of a diſſertation, rather than the narrow limits of a note.

had too correct a mind to wander with Callendar towards the regions of the North, to inquire for what he had learned, in his youth, on the *braes* of *Boyne*, or heard, during his manhood, in the ſtreets of Edinburgh. One muſt lament, to ſee ſuch a genius as Callendar's cramped by his conceit; to behold ſo much learning enforced with ſo little ratiocination; to view uſefulneſs of deſign cut off by the ridiculouſneſs of ſyſtem, and the liberality of purſuit degraded by the vagaries of folly!

All legitimate etymology may be reduced nearly to queſtions of fact. We muſt firſt trace the hiſtory of every people, ere we can attempt to inveſtigate their language. It would then be no difficult inquiry, to aſcertain with ſufficient certainty, what ſpeech they brought with them into their original ſettlements; what words they borrowed, in the progreſs of their knowledge, when they became acquainted with things, that they knew not before; what idioms they acquired, in the viciſſitudes of faſhion, from the nations around them. When words have been traced, with the good ſenſe of Ruddiman, to the Anglo-Saxon, it may be eaſily inferred, that ſuch words were imported by a Teutonic people, without launching out into the great ocean of German literature. When we ſee a ſcientific term borrowed plainly from the Greek, it is ſufficient to aſſert the fact, without inquiring whence

whence the Greeks may have borrowed it. (*p*) When we meet with a word, in the Scots dialect, which is purely French, etymological affectation alone could ſhew, by the conſultation of dictionaries, that the French derived it from the Latin, that the Latins borrowed it from the Greek, that the Greeks derived it from the Hebrew, that the Hebrews fetched it from the plain of Babylon, at the early epoch of the *confuſion of the lip*. (*q*) It is by ſuch etymological fooleries, that a liberal ſtudy comes into the ridicule of the weak, and the contempt of the wiſe.

A few months only elapſed before Ruddiman was reſpectfully noticed, as Freebairn had wiſhed, by the patrons of virtue and letters. A vacancy happening in the grammar-ſchool of Dundee, the magiſtrates invited our grammarian to fill the office of rector. The advocates had, mean-time, noted

(*p*) John Stirling publiſhed, in 1738, for the uſe of ſchools, "A Catalogue of Latin and ſome Greek words, "which are now made uſe of in Engliſh, differing from "their originals only in termination: of Latin words, to "which their ſignifications in our language have a great "affinity." This catalogue is much larger than one would expect at firſt ſight to ſee. If ſimilar liſts were made out of the words, which we have borrowed from other languages, ſuch liſts would greatly illuſtrate the hiſtory of our own ſpeech. This taſk, indeed, has been very elaborately performed by Mr. Benjamin Martin, in his *Introduction to the Engliſh Tongue*, 1749.

(*q*) See Bryant's Mythology, vol. 3. p. 30—1.

his induſtry, admired his learning, and reſpected his modeſty. With ſuch induſtry, learning, and modeſty, they did not like to part, when they heard of his invitation to Dundee. And, conſidering *his extraordinary care of the library*, with the increaſe of his trouble, *The Faculty* determined, on the 15th of July, 1710, to ſettle upon him an annual ſalary of 363l. 6s. 8d. Scots, or 30l. 6s. 8d. ſterling, in lieu of all fees, except the ſmall gratifications, which were in uſe to be paid, on the admiſſion of advocates. By ſuch an attention, from ſuch a body, Ruddiman was doubtleſs flattered. Though he would have made greater profit at Dundee; yet, from reſpect to the Faculty, he choſe rather to accept of their ſalary, than to relinquiſh their ſervice. (*r*) The young may here ſee another example of modeſt worth being noticed, by the eye of diſcernment, and rewarded, in due ſeaſon, by the hand of munificence.

But, ſuch is life, that during the moments of ſun-ſhine, the blaſt of a ſtorm is often at hand! Towards the end of 1710, Ruddiman loſt his wife. (*s*) She left him a ſon, who had been named Archibald, after his patron Doctor Pit-

(*r*) See the APPENDIX, N° 3. for *The Act of the Faculty of Advocates*, with *fac-ſimiles* of their names.

(*s*) On that occaſion, Ruddiman made the following entry in his pocket-book: "The diſburſements at my dear "wife's funeral, an. 1710, amounted to 305l. 12s. 6d. "Scots."

cairne;

cairne; and a daughter, who was called Elizabeth. He ſettled them both in the country, either for the benefit of the air, or from his inability to provide for them at home. (*t*) At the end of the year 1710, he ſtated an account of his wealth; whence it appeared, that he owed 516l. 11s. 6d; that he had credits to the amount of 813l. 5s. 8d. ſo that, excluſive of clothes and furniture, he was worth 296l. 14s. 2d. Scots. (*u*) From this ſtatement we ſee, that he was growing daily richer: but, he who enters the world, without a ſhilling, muſt labour many an hour, before he can acquire the comforts, and dignity of opulence. Ruddiman, however, was never diſcouraged; but continued his diligence, and truſted in God.

Ruddiman was now known, at Edinburgh, as an editor, with ſufficient learning, and uncommon induſtry. And, James Watſon, the printer, wanting help, when he was about to publiſh the works of Drummond of Hawthornden, in 1711, naturally aſked his aid. But, whether Ruddiman were the editor of the whole volume

(*t*) From his pocket-book it appears, That he placed his ſon with James Colvil at the bridge of Inch, for whom he was to pay 14l. Scots a quarter; that he ſettled his daughter with one Paton at Mayfield, at 18l. Scots a quarter. Theſe two, with a third child that Barbara Scollay brought her huſband, died in their infancy.

(*u*) This ſtatement is entered in his pocket-book.

cannot now be aſcertained. Sage undertook this taſk, but lived not to finiſh it. The *Lives* of the *Five James's* by *Drummond* had been twice publiſhed before, to which was prefixed an Introduction by Hall of Gray's-Inn, who wrote it with careleſs inattention, or malignant purpoſe. And, a new Introduction was now given by Sage, with *notes* by Ruddiman, (*w*) which ſuperſeded the old, in regard both to ſtile, and ſentiment.

The family of the Sages had lived for ſeven generations before the birth of our editor, in the pariſh of Criech, which is ſituated in the North-Eaſt of Fife, with much reputation, but with little property. John Sage, the friend and coadjutor of Ruddiman, was here born, in 1652, the ſon of Captain Sage, who fought in Lord Duffus's regiment, on the King's ſide, when Monk ſtormed Dundee, on the 30th of Auguſt 1651.

The civil wars left the father little to give his ſon, except good principles, and a liberal education. After diligent ſtudy, in the univerſity of St. Andrew's, young Sage obtained his Maſter of Arts degree, about the year 1672. He now made letters his profeſſion. And he was ere long appointed to be ſchoolmaſter of Bingry, in his native ſhire, and became afterwards ſchool-

(*w*) In his Anſwer to Logan, p. 360, Ruddiman acknowledges *the notes*, which are not many in number, but are excellent in quality. In theſe, he ſettled ſome dates, which had not been fixed before.

maſter

maſter of Tippermoor, in the county of Perth. In theſe ſtations, without gaining opulence, he loſt his health. He was at length invited by Mr. James Drummond of Cultmalundie to educate his ſons, whom he accompanied firſt to the ſchool of Perth, and afterwards to the univerſity of St. Andrew's. Here, was he remembered, his learning acknowledged, and his manners admired. His pupils left him, in 1684, when he departed from St. Andrew's, without any determinate object.

In this moment of indeciſion and helpleſsneſs, Doctor Roſe, the profeſſor of divinity, in that univerſity, recommended Sage to his uncle, Archbiſhop Roſe, who gave him prieſts orders, and perſuaded him to officiate, at Glaſgow. In this commercial town, he continued to diſcharge his duty, with talents, and efficacy, till the tumults of the Revolution, in 1688, obliged him to flee to Edinburgh, for ſhelter.

He, at this period, commenced a polemical writer; thinking, no doubt, to ſupport a falling Church, by the efforts of his head, and hand. (x) At

(x) 1ſt. Mr. Sage wrote the ſecond and third letters, concerning the perſecution of the Epiſcopal Clergy in Scotland, which were printed at London, in 1689; the Reverend Thomas Morer having written the firſt, and profeſſor Munro the fourth.

At Edinburgh, he preached a while, till refuſing to take the oaths of allegiance, when required by the government, he was obliged to retire. In this extremity, he found protection in the houſe of Sir William Bruce, the ſheriff of Kinroſs, who approved his principles, and admired his virtue. Returning to Edinburgh, in 1695, he was obſerved, and obliged to abſcond. Yet, he returned in 1696, when his friend, Sir William Bruce was impriſoned, as a ſuſpected perſon. He was ſoon

2dly. An Account of the late Eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian Government by the Parliament of Scotland, in 1690. London, 1693.

3dly. *The Fundamental Charter of Preſbytery.* London, 1695.

4thly. *The Principles of the Cyprianick Age—with regard to Epiſcopal Power and Juriſdiction.* London, 1695.

5thly. *A Vindication* of the Principles of the Cyprianick Age. London, 1701.

6thly. *Some Remarks on a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to a Miniſter in the Country, on Mr. David Williamſon's Sermon before the General Aſſembly.* Edinburgh, 1703.

7thly. *A brief Examination of ſome Things in Mr. Meldrum's Sermon, preached on the 16th of May* 1703, *againſt a Toleration to thoſe of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion.* Edinburgh, 1703.

8thly. *The Reaſonableneſs of a Toleration of thoſe of the Epiſcopal Perſuaſion inquired into purely on Church Principles.* Edinburgh, 1704.

9thly. The Life of Gawin Douglaſs, in 1710.

10thly. *An Introduction* to Drummond's Hiſtory of the Five James's. Edinburgh, 1711.—And he left ſeveral Manuſcripts on various ſubjects, that are mentioned in his *Life*, by Biſhop Gillan, which was publiſhed at London, in 1714.

forced

forced to look for refuge in the hills of Angus, under the name of Jackſon.

After a while, Mr. Sage found a ſafe retreat with the Counteſs of Callendar, who employed him to inſtruct her family, as chaplain, and her ſons, as tutor. Theſe occupations did not wholly engage his active mind: For, he employed his pen, in defending his order, or in expoſing his oppreſſors. When the Counteſs of Callendar had no longer ſons to inſtruct, Sage accepted the invitation of Sir John Steuart of Garntully, who wanted the help of a chaplain, and the converſation of a ſcholar. With Sir John, he continued till the decency of his manners, and the extenſiveneſs of his learning, recommended him to a higher ſtation. And, on the 25th of January 1705, he was conſecrated a Biſhop, by Paterſon, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Roſe, the Biſhop of Edinburgh, and Douglas, the Biſhop of Dumblain.

But, this promotion did not prevent ſickneſs from falling on him, in November 1706. After lingering for many months in Scotland, he tried the effect of the waters of Bath, in 1709, without ſucceſs. At Bath, and at London, he remained a twelvemonth, recognized by the great, and careſſed by the learned. Yet, though he was invited to ſtay, he returned in 1710, to his native country, which he deſired to ſee, and where he wiſhed to die. And, though his body was debilitated, he engaged, with undiminiſhed vigour of mind,

in

in the publication of Drummond's works, to which Ruddiman lent his aid. Biſhop Sage died, at Edinburgh, on the 7th of June, 1711, lamented by his friends for his virtues, and feared by his adverſaries for his talents. Of Sage, Ruddiman always ſpeaks as a companion, whom he eſteemed for his worth, and as a ſcholar, whom he admired for his learning.

Our grammarian had ſcarcely finiſhed this taſk, when his aſſiſtance was aſked for Abercromby, who publiſhed, in 1711, the *Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation.* (y)

Patrick Abercromby, Doctor in Medicine, was the ſon of Alexander Abercromby of Fetternear, in Aberdeenſhire, and the brother of Francis Abercromby, who was created Lord Glaſford, in July 1685. (z) They were all Roman Catholics, who partook of the misfortunes of James II. Patrick Abercromby ſpent his youth in foreign countries, as he tells us himſelf; and was probably educated in the univerſity of Paris. He returned to Scotland, during the reign of Queen Anne, and buſied himſelf, in promoting the intereſt of the abdicated family. His book of *Martial Atchievements*, which was ſupported by a long liſt of ſubſcribers, was perhaps publiſhed with this

(y) The firſt volume was printed, at Edinburgh, in folio, by Robert Freebairn: The ſecond was printed in 1715, partly by Freebairn, and partly by Ruddiman.

(z) Crauford's Peerage, p. 167.

deſign.

deſign. In his preface, he confeſſed his obligation *to his learned friend, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman.* When the ſecond volume of *The Martial Atchievements* appeared, in 1715, he again acknowledged the favour, that he owed to the judicious, and indefatigable, Mr. Ruddiman, who not only corrected *the copy*, but ſuperintended the preſs. Freebairn printed the one half of this volume, and Ruddiman the other half. But, for this firſt ſpecimen of his typographical labours, our printer was probably never paid; (*a*) as Doctor Abercromby died about the year 1716; leaving a widow, in diſtreſſed circumſtances.

In the midſt of thoſe various labours, Ruddiman married, in 1711, for his ſecond wife, Janet Horſeburgh, the daughter of John Horſeburgh, a lawyer, who acted as ſheriff-clerk of Fifeſhire. By this marriage, he probably enlarged his connections rather than increaſed his fortune. She brought him a daughter, named Elizabeth, on the 14th Auguſt 1712, who died in her childhood; and a ſon, Thomas, on the 4th of January 1714, whom he raiſed to manhood with hopes, that were however blaſted, by one of thoſe ſtrokes of adverſity, which no prudence can foreſee, nor power prevent.

Ruddiman was not long retarded, by the review of *Martial Atchievements*, or by marriage, from the philological ſtudies, in which he ſeems

(*a*) The Doctor is often mentioned in Ruddiman's accounts, as his debtor, even as late as October 1735.

to

to have, all his life, ſo much delighted. In 1713, he publiſhed, *with improvements*, the *Vocabulary* of John Forreſt, who had been ſchoolmaſter at Leith, and was one of the few Scotſmen, that had ever produced a *Word-Book*. David Wedderburn, the celebrated rector of the ſchool of New Aberdeen, at the beginning of the ſeventeenth century, had, indeed, written *Vocabula cum alijs Linguæ Latinæ ſubſidijs*, which were inſerted in the various editions of his grammar. James Paterſon had alſo publiſhed a vocabulary, which in the judgment of Ruddiman, was only an abridgment of Cellarius's *Latinitatis probatæ liber memorialis*. And, Thomas Watt printed at Edinburgh, in 1708, a *vocabulary*, to which he added *the language of the ſchools*, in Engliſh, and Latin. But, the *Literati* of Scotland have not yet given any thing to the world, which can be called a *Lexicon* of the learned languages. (*b*) This barrenneſs

(*b*) If, however, we may credit Sir Robert Sibbald, David Colvil, who was born in Fifeſhire, much enlarged the Dictionary of Cæſar Calderinus, which he publiſhed at Venice, in 1612, and called it *Calepinus*. [Hiſt. of Fife Appendix.] —So, Sir Robert is willing to transfer the property of Calepin, a native of Calepio, in Italy, whence he took his name, to Colvil, his countryman. Calepin died on the 29th of October, 1510. His Dictionary was augmented by Paſſerat, and publiſhed at Lyons, 1681, in two volumes, folio. The late profeſſor George Steuart, indeed, of the univerſity of Edinburgh, after thirty years labour, had finiſhed a Latin Dictionary, which is more copious than Ainſworth's, and more elaborate than Littleton's.

may

may poſſibly be owing to the fertility of England, who earlier took poſſeſſion of the claſſick field, which ſhe cultivated with great ſkill and labour.

While Ruddiman was thus employed, he loſt his active patron, Doctor Pitcairne, the friend of Bellini, the preceptor of Boërhaave, the maſter of Mead, who died, at the age of ſixty-one, on the 23d of October 1713. When the poets of Scotland came to offer their verſes, (*c*) at the tomb of him, who had preſided among them, Ruddiman haſtened with his tributary tear. After he had inſcribed, with a grateful pen, Pitcairne's epitaph, Ruddiman bad him farewel with fond recollection of his patron's talents and favours:---

Ergo Vale lux Scotigenûm, Princepſque Medentûm,
Muſarum columen deliciæque, vale!

Ruddiman tried to ſhow his gratitude to the dead, by endeavouring to benefit the living. (*d*) He negotiated the ſale of his patron's library to Peter, the Great, through the influence of the Czar's

(*c*) See the Verſes to Pitcairne in *Pitcarnij Poemata*, p. 84—98, and Ruddiman's Epitaph in Monteith's *Theater of Mortality*, p. 242.

(*d*) Being at Edinburgh, in 1791, I had the honour to viſit a maiden daughter of Doctor Pitcairne, who, though ſhe was bowed down with age, received me with her father's politeneſs, and converſed with her father's ſpirit. When I aſked her, if ſhe remembered Ruddiman, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe remembered him very well; that he had made a catalogue of her father's books, and would take nothing for his pains.

phyſician,

phyſician, Doctor Erſkine. The widow of Pitcairne lived till October 1754, when Ruddiman attempted to perpetuate her worth. (*e*) The daughters of Pitcairne carried his blood into the noble families of Kelley, and Colville. The ſon of Pitcairne, running out to the rebellion of 1715, was ſaved from the ſtroke of juſtice, by the active interpoſition of Doctor Mead, who finely ſaid to Walpole, that if the miniſter's health were bettered by his ſkill, or the royal family were preſerved by his care, it was owing to the inſtructions of Pitcairne. Such reciprocations of kindneſs ought ever to be remembered, both as tributes to the dead, and as examples to the living.

Ruddiman publiſhed, at length, in 1714, *The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue*; being, *An eaſy*

(*e*) Ruddiman publiſhed the following character of her, in the Caledonian Mercury of the 20th October 1754:

"On Saturday laſt died, in a very advanced age, Mrs. "Elizabeth Stevenſon, daughter of Sir Archibald Steven-"ſon, phyſician to his Majeſty, King Charles II. and relict "of the eminent and ever-famous Dr. Archibald Pitcairne, "whom ſhe outlived 41 years. She was a perſon of great "prudence, exemplary piety, and above all, of a ſingular "evenneſs and compoſedneſs of temper, which ſhe pre-"ſerved to the laſt, amidſt the many viciſſitudes of fortune, "wherewith ſhe had been exerciſed: all which, with many "other accompliſhments, which adorn the ſex, did not only "highly endear her to her family, relations, and friends, but "alſo leave a grateful remembrance of her in the minds of "all thoſe, who had the benefit of her converſation and ex-"ample."

Introduction to Latin Grammar. (*f*) This work will tranſmit our grammarian's name with celebrity to every age, as long as, the language of Rome ſhall continue to be taught in the ſchools of Scotland. Philology had not been much cultivated in the Northern parts of Britain, before Ruddiman appeared. (*g*) The works of foreign grammarians; of Deſpauter and Vives; were printed often in proſe, and ſometimes in verſe. In the progreſs of improvement, or innovation, the Scottiſh ſchoolmaſters had ſucceſſively publiſhed grammatical eſſays, which may have gratified perſonal vanity, without gaining the public approbation. Two grammars, however inſufficient, had taken poſſeſſion of the ſchools; the *Grammatica Deſpauteriana* of Kirkwood, which was written wholly in Latin, the language, that *the Deſpauteriana* was deſigned to teach; and Simpſon's *Rudimenta Grammatices*, which were defective in the ſyntax. Yet, when juſtice required Ruddiman to diſpraiſe the philological labours of his predeceſſors, he ſuppreſſed, with

(*f*) It was printed at Edinburgh, in 1714, by Freebairn, and it was entered at the Stationers Hall, in London, for Andrew Bell, on the 26th of March 1715. The original MS. in the author's own hand writing, is in *The Advocates Library*, 4to. The ſecond edition was publiſhed at Edinburgh, in 1716, and the third edition, in 1720.

(*g*) See *the* APPENDIX, N° 4, for a *chronological liſt*, which was drawn up by Ruddiman, of ſuch *grammars* as had been written by Scotſmen.

his

his accuſtomed modeſty, the names of the authors, and the books, which he was about to cenſure.

He did not, at laſt, engage ſpontaneouſly in the uſeful taſk of giving aſſiſtance to children, in the learning of the Latin language. He was ſolicited often, by the maſters of ſchools, to undertake the compilation of a new grammatical treatiſe, which might ſupply the defects of the old; and which was ſoon known by the title of *Ruddiman's Rudiments*. In the performance of this engagement, he was kindly helped by the learned few, who wiſhed ſucceſs to the benevolent deſign. He conſulted the beſt grammarians, both ancient and modern, and adopted from all what he deemed moſt ſuitable to his purpoſe. Yet, was he obſtructed much in his progreſs, by the conteſts among pedagogues, about the beſt method of communicating the Latin tongue, and by the impoſſibility of ſatisfying contradictory opinions. In following, amidſt theſe embarraſſments, his own judgment, he reduced the rudiments into a *ſhort text*; and gave an Engliſh verſion with the Latin original; leaving every maſter to chuſe either the Engliſh, or the Latin, as he might think proper; and ſubjoining for the uſe of thoſe, who might think the text too compendious, notes, which were at once copious, and explanatory. And, affecting little novelty, he departed no farther from the common ſyſtem, than former grammarians

rians had receded from truth. His work was generally approved, as ſoon as it was carefully inſpected. He had diligently followed the Horatian precept:

" Quicquid præcipies eſto brevis, ut citò dicta
" Percipiant animi dociles, teneantque fideles."

He lived to ſee his Rudiments run through fifteen editions. And, when he departed, at the utmoſt extremity of life, he left this ſaleable treatiſe, as a productive income to his widow.

Ruddiman had ſcarcely publiſhed his *Rudiments*, for the inſtruction of children, when he engaged in a more arduous undertaking, for the information of men. He undertook, as an editor, to publiſh, *Buchanani Opera omnia*. This difficult taſk had been undertaken, about the year 1701, by Moſman, the bookſeller of Edinburgh, who printed ſome of the ſheets, which he was obliged to cancel, owing to the inſufficiency of his editor. The death of Moſman, transferred his project, with the difficulty attending it, to Freebairn, the printer. The ſkill and diligence of Ruddiman now recommended him as the fitteſt editor; and he was induced, rather by the approbation of others, than by his own forwardneſs, to undertake a taſk, which, whatever profit it may have brought him, entailed on his future life, the malevolent perſecutions of party-zeal. It may at once pleaſe, and mortify, the lovers of literature, to be told, that

for this great performance, Ruddiman was promiſed forty pounds ſterling; which was perhaps as large a reward as Freebairn could afford, while, in Scotland, every houſe had not yet a library.

In this manner, then, were the entire works of Buchanan for the firſt time collected by Ruddiman, as the editor, and publiſhed by Freebairn, the bookſeller, in two folio volumes, during the year 1715. The firſt volume contains his *Hiſtory*, and his *Political Treatiſes*, excluſive of the *Preface*, and the *Life*: The ſecond volume comprehends his poetry, philological tracts, and his epiſtles. Splendour was ſuperadded to uſefulneſs. A ſculpture by Cooper was prefixed, repreſenting Buchanan, as crowned by the genius of literature, and announced by the trumpet of fame.

The book opens with the preface of Freebairn, which had plainly been written by Ruddiman. (*b*) He

(*b*) In a manuſcript note on a pamphlet, entitled *Furius*, which will be herein after mentioned, Ruddiman ſays: "What view T. R. had, in publiſhing his notes on Buchanan, is to be learned from *his preface* to that edition. If "the Britiſh conſtitution is to ſtand upon Buchanan's principles, it certainly has but a very weak foundation; and "yet weaker, if T. R.'s annotations be juſt. But, the truth "is, that T. R. has not in the leaſt meddled with the Britiſh conſtitution, unleſs it be, that in one note he aſſerts "and proves, That the monarchy of Scotland was, by its "original frame, *hereditary*, and in other notes, that Robert, "the third, was his father's lawful ſon." Thus far Ruddiman. We have here ſeen his acknowledgment, that *the preface*

He began, in prefatory form, with an apology for the tardineſs of the publication: And, he ended with deprecatory wiſhes for the errors of the work, which he hoped were *nec multa nec gravia*, neither many in number, nor great in moment. He gave an elaborate ſtatement of the various editions of Buchanan's ſeparate works. He expoſed the chronological errors, and the factious ſpirit of *The Hiſtory*: And he laid open the ſources, whence he drew the documents, which enabled him to rectify both. With Scylla, on the right, and Charybdis, on the left, he endeavoured with good management, but without ultimate ſucceſs, to ſteer his veſſel ſafely through this dangerous ſtreight. He acknowledged, with the warmeſt thankfulneſs, the obligations he owed to ſeveral men of learning, for their able aſſiſtance, in this difficult taſk. Sir David Dalrymple, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, contributed his intelligent help, with the kindneſs of a friend. Fletcher of Salton, *the Cato of the age*, promoted the deſign with the uſual ardour of his ſpirit. Pitcairne, the incomparable phyſician, who, as Ruddiman delighted to tell,

preface was his own: And we have here his anſwer, in 1755, to the ſuggeſtion, which party had inculcated, for almoſt forty years, that Ruddiman had ſtepped out of his way, in 1715, to wound the Britiſh conſtitution, through the ſides of Buchanan; and, for this end, had undertaken this edition of his works.

was not only ſkilful in his profeſſion, but profoundly verſed in polite literature, gave his continual aid, while he lived. He mentions alſo John Drummond, Doctor in Medicine, Laurence Dundas, the profeſſor of languages, in the college of Edinburgh, John Macdonald, James Anderſon, a whig, and John Gillan, a Jacobite, as two antiquaries, who were forward to aſſiſt his labours. This preface, he communicated to Drummond, Dundas, and Gillan, in order that they might correct the language, rather than add to the matter. (*i*)

The preface naturally led on to *The Life* of Buchanan, which is aſſerted to have been written by himſelf, two years before his death. Ruddiman gives a ſceptical note, which ſeems to diſcover his doubts of an aſſertion, which has never been ſupported by proof. Yet, he ſaw only part of the truth. He did not perceive, what appears to have been *the fact*, that of this life Sir Peter Young was the author. (*k*) Short and ſuperficial

(*i*) Antichriſis, p. 22.

(*k*) Of this truth, I convinced myſelf by a conſideration of the following reaſons:

1ſt. On the 15th of March 1579-80, Sir Thomas Randolph wrote from London to Peter Young, who was then the preceptor of King James, under Buchanan's ſuperintendance; urging him to write Buchanan's Life; and offering him hints for his ſubject. [Rud. Epiſt. Buch. Op. p. 19.]

2dly.

cial as it is, it may be ſaid to end with 1565, without noticing the ſubſequent events, in the diverſified life of Buchanan. Ruddiman endeavoured, by his notes, to contribute ſomething to the authenticity of the facts, and, by the addition of anecdotes, to extend the length of the narrative. It may be allowed, that his diligence did much, though the inſufficiency of his information left much for ſucceeding biographers to do. Thoſe, who have been forward to cenſure his performance, have not, however, contributed an equal number of documents; nor have they, with the ſame ſucceſs, endeavoured to diſentangle the knotty, or to knit the looſe.

2dly. Doctor Thomas Smith ſays expreſsly, "That Peter "Young wrote briefly the Life of Buchanan." [Vita Petri Junij, p. 17. in the *Vitæ Illuſtrium Virorum*, Lond. 1707.] The Life is written without any attention to accuracy, with little activity of reſearch, and with not much preciſion of remark; yet, Buchanan, doubtleſs, knew of the deſign, and lent his aſſiſtance. This writer, whoever he were, talks of John Major as being *in extrema ſenectute*, in 1524, when he was only fifty-five, which is the very prime of a profeſſor. He ſpeaks of Henry VIII. as *jam ſeniore*, in 1536, when he was but *forty-eight*. He makes Buchanan meet Cardinal Beaton at Paris, in 1539, a twelve-month after he had returned to Scotland: I am thence led to ſuſpect, that Buchanan made his eſcape from St. Andrew's, by the way of London, to Paris, not in 1539, but in 1538, when he might have met the Cardinal. I could run through the whole Life, and ſhew ſimilar fooleries, and ſome malignity, in every page of it.

To the Life, Ruddiman ſubjoined the *Teſtimonies* of the learned in favour of Buchanan, which, without any notice of his faults, only recollect his virtues. And to this, the editor has added, what is of more importance to literature, a *Catalogue* of the various editions, and of the manuſcript copies, of the whole works of Buchanan.

To *the Life*, now ſucceeds *the Hiſtory*, which is printed firſt, though it was the laſt of his labours. It has been pertinaciouſly debated by Ruddiman and his opponents, at what time Buchanan began to compile the hiſtorical work, which was to clothe him, in the conceit of his friends, with laſting renown. Soon after his return to Scotland, when he was buſily collecting his fugitive pieces, his attention was called to this difficult ſubject by his patrons, as Ruddiman has ably ſhewn. The real epoch, however, cannot now be aſcertained. When Buchanan commenced the drudge of a party, in 1567, he probably began to write what was to be the apology for the party. He had already made ſome progreſs, when he went to London, in 1568. Cecil was ſoon informed of his deſign, and continually intereſted himſelf in its progreſs. In Auguſt 1577, Buchanan propoſed to ſend his manuſcript to the preſs, during the ſubſequent winter. Something was ſoon after loſt by him, which he truſted ſoon to recover, or elſe, as he told Bowes, "to

"ſupply with ſoir travell." (*l*) What he at that time loſt cannot now be eaſily found. (*m*) In September 1578, Buchanan had brought down the ſtory to the death of Murray, when he talked of delivering it to the printer. Yet, he ſtill detained his favourite child under his parental roof. And, notwithſtanding every interruption from negligence, or from gout, he proceeded to write the twentieth book, which continues the diſaſtrous tale, from the ſpring of 1570 to the autumn of 1572, when he abruptly broke off, without retroſpective reflection as to the paſt, or conjectural remark on the future.

The manuſcript was at length ſent to Alexander Arbuthnot, who had been appointed the

(*l*) See the letter of Bowes, Queen Elizabeth's ambaſſador, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, from Stirling, the 18th September 1578, in Murden's State Papers, 316.

(*m*) I conjecture, that Buchanan may, amidſt the multiplicity of his affairs, have loſt the copy of the three firſt books of his Hiſtory, which, he was, of courſe, obliged "*to* "*ſupply with ſoir travell.*" The two firſt books appear, at preſent, to have been *haſtily written*: and the third book is *mere tranſcription* from Roman authors, and even from Bede, and Gildas, which any hand could perform, without "*ſoir* "*travell.*" This loſs, Buchanan was, in this manner, obliged to ſupply, a ſhort time probably, before he ſent his Hiſtory to the preſs. The letter of Bowes, which was firſt publiſhed by Murden, had never been ſeen by Ruddiman, or Man, or by any other of the diſputants, with regard to this curious point. If my conjecture be founded, it will go far towards putting an end to the controverſy.

King's printer, in 1579, and who lived in Edinburgh, at *the Kirk in the Field.* That Alexander Arbuthnot, the contemporary principal of the King's college, Aberdeen, was the printer of Buchanan's hiſtory, has been maintained, with ridiculous pertinacity, by James Man, and by others, who, with fooliſh zeal, thought it honourable for Buchanan to have his hiſtory *incorrectly* printed by that eminent ſcholar. Againſt the foolery of James Man, who was often warned of his miſtake, (*n*) Ruddiman argued cogently, (*o*) that the office of King's printer was quite incompatible with the neceſſary reſidence of the principal of a college, at the diſtance of eighty miles from the preſs. The evidence of a record, however, has deciſively eſtabliſhed *the fact*, that they were different perſons. The writ of privy-ſeal, which appointed Alexander Arbuthnot, the King's printer, deſcribes him as *a burgeſs of Edinburgh:* But, Alexander Arbuthnot, the principal of the King's college, was not a burgeſs of Edinburgh.

From the *Kirk in the Field*, *The Hiſtory* was ſent into the world, in September 1582, with many an error, in every page. (*p*) All theſe Rud-

(*n*) By profeſſor Thomas Gordon of the King's College, as he aſſures me.

(*o*) Antichriſis, p. 26.

(*p*) There are ſubjoined to *the Notes and Obſervations of Thomas Crawfurd, on Buchanan's Hiſtory*, which were publiſhed

Ruddiman endeavoured to correct, with an unlucky diligence, which proved fatal to his future quiet. The notes, critical and political, that our editor ſubjoined to *The Hiſtory*, raiſed up individuals, and parties againſt him, who tried, with pertinacious zeal, to cover his grey hairs with ignominy. But, their ſucceſs, however vexatious, was notequal to their efforts. Their ſtrength was enfeebled by their malice; and their powers of miſchief were unequal to his vigour of defence, even after he had been obliged, by the infirmities of age, to employ the eyes, the ears, and the pens of others. To his *Annotations*, Ruddiman annexed, what gave *The Hiſtory* a value, that it had not before, *Tabula Regum Scotiæ Chronologica*; and what was of ſtill greater uſe, conſidering how Buchanan has perverted names, *Propriorum Nominum Interpretatio.*

There was, no doubt, great propriety in printing with *The Hiſtory*, in the ſame volume, the *Political Tracts of* Buchanan; becauſe they form a proper ſupplement to annals, which were begun, by the ſuggeſtions of party, and were finiſhed, by the zeal of a partiſan. The temporary treatiſes, zealots can ſcarcely hope to revive. The *De Jure* will continue to be printed, during anarchical times, and will, doubtleſs, be praiſed,

liſhed at Edinburgh, by Freebairn, in 1708, twelve octavo pages of *Errata Typographica.*

in

in every age, by thoſe buſy men, who miſtake ardour of novelty for attachment to freedom.

The ſecond volume of Buchanan's works contains his poetry, his philological tracts, and his epiſtles. To each of theſe heads, the editor ſubjoined annotations, which have ſometimes illuſtrated the obſcurities of the copy, and often corrected the errors of the preſs. Ruddiman added a moſt erudite diſſertation *De Metris Buchananæis Libellus*, which diſcloſes the nature of his poetry, and diſplays the beauties of his choice. And here ended the labour, though not the ſolicitude, of Ruddiman, with regard to the whole works of Buchanan.

When this edition was publiſhed, after all the elaboration of Ruddiman, it was received by learned men, rather as it affected their prepoſſeſſions, than as it was approved by their judgments:

"*Pro captu lectoris habent ſua fata libelli.*"

By thoſe, who thought well of Ruddiman's literature, and politics, it was highly praiſed: By the zealots, who imagined Buchanan to be infallible, it was reprobated by every mode of cenſure, and rejected with plain avowals of recrimination.

A ſociety was ſoon formed of the ſcholars of Edinburgh, for publiſhing a correct edition of Buchanan's works; with the declared deſign of vindicating "that incomparably learned and

"*pious*

" *pious* author from the calumnies of Mr. Thomas " Ruddiman." This *incomparably learned and pious ſociety* conſiſted of the following perſons: Mr. James Anderſon, [the] famous antiquary; the reverend and erudite profeſſors, Hamilton and Smith; Charles Macky, the profeſſor of Hiſtory; [Sir] Robert Stewart, the profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy; the Rev. George Logan; [Sir] Archibald Steuart [Denham,] the advocate; with many others of inferior note. Their lucubrations were long expected by thoſe, who intereſted themſelves in Buchanan's fame, and in Ruddiman's character, though they were never gratified by their publication. As theſe profound ſcholars could not write vulgar Engliſh, Adam Watt, the profeſſor of the Roman language, at Edinburgh, had the charity to clothe their nakedneſs with a Roman dreſs. (*q*) Animated by the kindneſs of Watt, they proceeded to ſtuff eighty pages with

" *Notts*"

(*q*) By the favour of the very ingenious and truly communicative George Paton, one of the vice-preſidents of the Antiquary Society of Edinburgh, I have before me a quarto volume, which being written in a ſmall hand, contains much matter in a ſmall ſpace; and which comprehends the united works of the above mentioned ſociety. It was from it, that I was enabled to ſpecify the names of the members. From it I am able to ſtate other particulars. Of this volume, the following is the title-page: " Notts to vindicat " the Truth and clear off the Aſpertions by, or in, Mr. Tho- " mas Rudeman's preface to Mr. Robert Freebairn's edition " of George Buchanan's Hiſtory from malignant ſpirit: or " Mr. James Anderſon Antiquary and others their Vindica-

" tion

" *Notts*" *upon the Annotations* of Ruddiman. The reader is wearied, and confounded; but, he is neither convinced, nor informed. Conſidering Buchanan as infallible, the critics only laboured to demonſtrate, how eaſily prejudice may convert falſehoods into facts, and ungrateful ſcandals into fair reports.

About the Life of Buchanan, the aſſociated editors ſhewed ſtill more zealous anxiety. They criticized the critic moſt unmercifully. But they did not inſtruct the reader. They did not reveal then what had not been revealed before. They had not ſent to St. Andrews, and to Paris, in order to aſcertain the dates of Buchanan's literary honours. They had not ſearched the records for the ſucceſſive epochs of his political preferments. They had not ranſacked the ſtate papers for anecdotes, which had more clearly illuſtrated his genuine character. They only laboured, with the powers of impotence, to criminate his editor. The days, however, are paſt, when writers, who have only their captiouſ-

" tion of Buchanan."—A ſhort preface ſufficiently inſtructs the reader as to the contents of this *elaborate* volume.—" This " conteans ane apologie for publeſing a new and correct " edition of the illuſtrious George Buchanan's works, in- " tended by ſome eminent and learned men anno 1717, as a " moſt critical and juſt vindication of that incomparebly " learned and pious author, from the aſperſions and calum- " nys of Mr. Thomas Rudeman, in Mr. Robert Freebairn's edition of Buchanan's works, anno 1715."—Then follow the names of the aſſociated critics.

eſs

neſs to recommend them, can hope to find a reader, even among the abettors of faction.

Urged by a peculiar fervour of admiration, the aſſociated critics wrote to Holland, where they heard, that the works of Buchanan were to be printed; offering their aid, biographical, hiſtorical, and political. It was Langerak, the bookſeller of Leyden, who, from I know not what encouragement, had engaged in that project, with Burman, for his editor. Langerak and Burman long expected the promiſed documents, which were to confute Freebairn's preface, and to explode Ruddiman's annotations. With the impatience of a bookſeller, who has advanced his money, Langerak urged Burman to proceed; alledging, as his preface told the readers, "that "the boaſtings of the favourers of Buchanan, in "Scotland, were perhaps idle and vain." Being thus diſappointed, by their frivolouſneſs, Burman publiſhed his edition of Buchanan's works, in 1725, *with Ruddiman's Preface and Notes, as they were*, and with a few critical annotations of his own; but he did not trouble himſelf much about the facts, or the falſehoods, of his author; as the language, rather than the morals, of Buchanan, was his object.

The zeal of our aſſociated critics was not in the leaſt cooled, by the diſgrace of being thus expoſed to the public. They continued to promiſe an edition of Buchanan, with a confutation of Ruddiman,

man, *when ſubſcribers ſhould be found.* But, the ſubſcription never filled; and ſo their promiſe never was performed. They were better warriors than editors. During forty years, they kept up a *buſh-firing* againſt Ruddiman, who did not yield to the repeated attacks of the enemy, even after he had been weakened by age, and was at length diſabled by blindneſs.

Ruddiman's connection with Freebairn, and printing, induced him to think, that he too might exerciſe an art, the hand-maid of that literature, to which he had devoted his life. The year 1715 may be conſidered as the æra of his commencing printer. His brother Walter, who had been born, in 1687, and had come to Edinburgh in 1706; and who, at the age of nineteen, had begun to work with Freebairn, (*r*) was, in 1715, admitted

(*r*) In Ruddiman's pocket-book there is the following entry:—"22d October 1706, Walter Ruddiman entered to "the printer trade; having agreed with Mr. Robert Free- "bairn upon theſe terms, viz. That he ſhould maintain him- "ſelf, and the ſaid Robert is to pay him journeyman's wages, "whenever he ſhall be able to work ſufficiently; and it was "provided, that the ſaid Walter ſhould ſtay with the ſaid "Robert, he furniſhing him with work, and giving him as "good wages as any in Edinburgh." Robert Freebairn was the ſon of David Freebairn, who, while he was miniſter at Dunning was conſecrated Biſhop of Edinburgh on the 17th of October 1724, and died on the 24th of December 1739. His ſon Robert was, mean time, ſettled, at Edinburgh, as a bookſeller; and, in 1706, purchaſed of Mr. John Spottiſwoode,

admitted a partner, in the *materials*, but not *in the houſe*, though both were equal ſharers in the profit and the loſs. (*s*) This copartnerſhip may be ſaid to have continued during the life of Thomas, who for a ſhort time, indeed, relinquiſhed his printing buſineſs to his ſon. Walter Ruddiman was of an athletic perſon; having his brother's intellect, without his brother's learning. He was, in every period, an induſtrious printer, and an honeſt man. He married Janet, a daughter of Duncanſon of Kyle, in Argyleſhire, a gentleman of a ſmall eſtate. His wife brought him eight children, of whom ſix died in their infancy, and two daughters ſurvived him. One of theſe, Janet, married Robert Smith, a ſurgeon of Edinburgh, by whom ſhe had two children, who outlived her: And, Anne, who married John Hutton, one of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, and is ſtill alive, has one ſon and four daughters. The two copartners were men of great pru-

Spottiſwoode, the advocate beforementioned, a printing-preſs, which he had eſtabliſhed for printing law-books, Freebairn, then, began to print in 1706. It was on the 11th of Auguſt 1711, that Robert Freebairn, James Watſon, and John Baſket, were appointed the royal printers in Scotland, for forty-one years, from the expiration of the grant to Andrew Anderſon.

(*s*) The articles of copartnerſhip, dated the 16th of May 1748, recite, that they had begun to print from the year 1715; and that Walter had been an equal ſharer in the profit and the loſs, though he was only a partner in *the materials*, but not in *the houſe*.

dence,

dence, and happy tempers, which enabled them to live together, in the midſt of much buſineſs, and frequent intercourſe, for half a century, without a diſpute, and without jealouſy.

It will eaſily be allowed, that Thomas Ruddiman was the moſt learned printer, that North Britain has ever enjoyed. Inquiſitive men have often endeavoured, without ſucceſs, to diſcover, when the typographic art was introduced into Scotland. The diſcovery, which had eluded ſo many inquiries, hath been at length made, by ſearching the records. It was the intelligent, and induſtrious, William Robertſon of the *General Regiſter-Houſe*, who, to gratify my deſire, diſcovered a patent of king James IV; which plainly demonſtrates, that a printing-preſs was firſt eſtabliſhed, at Edinburgh, during the year 1507, at the end of thirty years, after that intereſting trade had been brought to Weſtminſter, by Caxton. (*t*) The firſt printers were Walter Chepman, a merchant, in Edinburgh, and Androw Myllar, a mere workman. With the learning of Ruddiman their talents could enter into no competition. Their immediate ſucceſſors were not more learned. At the commencement of the ſeventeenth century, the printers of Edinburgh were general-

(*t*) I had the honour to preſent a paper to the Antiquary Society of London, which gave an account of the diſcovery of the before-mentioned patent; and which was read before that learned body on the 1ſt of December 1791.

ly

ly bookſellers, who, having acquired ſome wealth, could purchaſe a preſs, and employ artificers; but knew no more of books, than the title-page, and the price. Andro Hart, who is juſtly praiſed, by Watſon, for his well-printed Bible, was only a bookſeller. Scotland was ſoon after ſupplied with printers chiefly from England. But, however illiterate, they had the merit of reforming the language, and ſettling, by ſilent practice, the orthography of the North. Theſe men, who practiſed the art, without poſſeſſing the erudition, of which it is the herald, could not diſpute with Ruddiman the palm of literature. Henry Stephens himſelf would have ſcarcely complained of Ruddiman, as one of thoſe printers, who had brought the typographic art into contempt, by their illiterature. (*u*) When we recollect his Gawin Douglas, and Buchanan, his Rudiments, and his Grammars, his Livy, and his Vindication of Buchanan's Pſalms, wherein competent judges have found the knowledge of a ſcholar, and the accuracy of a critic, we may fairly place Ruddiman in the honourable liſt of learned printers, with Badius and Aldus, with the Stephens's and Janſens.

The firſt production of Ruddiman's preſs was the ſecond volume of *Abercromby's Martial At-*

(*u*) See a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1569, entitled:—"Artis typographicæ QUERIMONIA, de illiteratis quibuſ-"dam typographis, propter quos in contemptum venit. Au-"tore Henrico Stephano."

chievements. (*x*) With his accuſtomed prudence, he probably printed, during ſeveral years, very inconſiderable books. He was perhaps principally occupied with the juridical papers of lawyers, or with ſchool-books for children. He printed ere long a book, which has engaged the attention of hiſtorians. Such was the firſt volume of *the Epiſtolæ Regum Scotorum*, which was printed, *in Ædibus Thomæ Ruddimanni*, in 1722. The ſecond volume was finiſhed by him, in 1724. (*y*) To each, there is an appropriate preface, which was plainly written by Ruddiman, and clearly ſhews that he was the editor of theſe hiſtorical documents, as well as the printer. (*z*) Finding theſe Epiſtles in *The Advocates Library*, among

(*x*) In the ſtatement, which Ruddiman made of his property, on the 1ſt of October 1735, there is among the outſtanding debts the following article: "For the one half of "the printing the ſecond volume of Abercromby's Martial "Atchievements, which is ſtill due, 35 l." This entry proves, that he had begun to print in 1715, when that book was publiſhed, and that he had printed the one half of it.

(*y*) Walter Ruddiman was not mentioned in the title-page of books with Thomas, till Auguſt 1727, when Walter was admitted into partnerſhip in the *houſe*, as he had been from 1715, in the *materials*. [Contract of copartnerſhip.]

(*z*) This work is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Advocates Library, which was compiled chiefly by Ruddiman, in the following manner: "Epiſtolæ Regum Scotiæ ab an. "1505 ad an. 1545, ex editione Thomæ Ruddimanni. 2 tom. "Edin. 1722 and 1724, in 8vo."

the

the manuſcripts of Balfour, he delivered them to the world, with an uſeful appendix of public papers, as illuſtrations of hiſtory. In 1724, Ruddiman printed HERODIAN, with the Greek and Latin, in correſpondent columns, for John Paton, a bookſeller, at Edinburgh, the father of George Paton, who has been already praiſed, for the variety of his knowledge, and the readineſs of his communication. The preface of Paton, the bookſeller, was probably written by Ruddiman, the printer.

The origin of printing, and the eſtabliſhment of ſocieties for the cultivation of letters, are intereſting objects, in the annals of literature, and in the lives of ſcholars. Scotland is indebted to the liberality of King James IV. for the introduction of typography: She owes to the munificence of King George III. the erection of ſocieties for cultivating uſeful ſcience, and elegant knowledge. It was, mean time, the activity, and genius, of private perſons, which firſt formed individuals into voluntary meetings, for communicating mutual inſtruction. And, the year 1718 ſaw ſeveral learned men eſtabliſh, at Edinburgh, an aſſociation, for improving each other in claſſical lore, *without meddling with the affairs of Church or State.* (*a*) The maſters of the High School, and Ruddiman, were the ori-

(*a*) This article was a fundamental, and a neceſſary, rule of the ſociety, at that epoch.

ginal members of this laudable inſtitution. They were afterwards joined by Henry Home, the well-known Lord Kaimes, who had from nature an inſatiable appetite for information of every kind. He was followed by Mr. Archibald Murray, Mr. James Cochran, with other advocates, and Mr. George Wiſhart, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh. This, then, is the firſt literary ſociety, which appears, from any authentic document, to have ſtatedly aſſembled in Scotland. (*b*) But, whether the converſations of the members were preſerved, or their diſſertations publiſhed, cannot now be aſcertained.

This aſſociation, of which Ruddiman merits the honour of being an original founder, was ſucceeded, in 1731, by the ſociety for *the improvement of medical knowledge*, as the former had been, for the cultivation of the literature of Rome, and of Greece. The Medical Society, as the members collected facts, has contributed more to the propagation of beneficial ſkill. And when its *Tranſactions* were publiſhed, under the title of *Medical Eſſays and Obſervations*, their merits were praiſed by Haller, and their uſefulneſs was allowed by the world. The Medical Society was ere long, in the progreſs of improvement, expanded, by the agency of the illuſtrious

(*b*) I found an account of this ſociety in a manuſcript note, of the hand-writing, of Ruddiman, at the end of the pamphlet, entitled *Furius*.

Mac-

Maclaurin, into the *Philoſophical Society* of Edinburgh, which, after it had languiſhed for years, aſſumed a new form, and a higher tone, and publiſhed, in 1754, a volume of *Eſſays and Obſervations, Phyſical and Literary*. Theſe voluntary aſſociations led on to the eſtabliſhment of the chartered ſocieties, by his preſent Majeſty. Ruddiman had not to boaſt of being a fellow, either of the Medical, or the Philoſophical, Society; being engaged, mean while, in other ſtudies, and performing, diligently, other duties.

Neither his attentions to *The Library*, his cares for *the Preſs*, nor his application to *Philology*, prevented our grammarian from contributing, at the ſame time, to the labours of other learned men, by the activity of his kindneſs, and the accuracy of his knowledge. When Hearn, the Oxford antiquary, was preparing his elaborate edition of *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, he experienced this aid from Ruddiman, who collated manuſcripts for him, and gave him his remarks. Hearn ſpoke of Ruddiman, in his preface, when his *Fordun* appeared, in 1722, as his friend, as his *learned* friend. They were, indeed, congenial ſpirits: Congenial in their modeſty, and diligence, in the extent of their learning, and in the utility of their labours.

This pleaſing intercourſe, which ought to be recollected, that it may be imitated, did not long prevent our grammarian from furniſhing the

ſchools, in 1723, with *Ovidij decerpta ex metamorfeôn*, containing Engliſh notes by Willymot, and by Ruddiman. (*c*) In this publication, he looked for gain, rather than for honour; and he certainly found what he ſought in the end.

This work, which was of eaſy performance, did not long interrupt his accuſtomed ſtudies. He was now buſy upon a performance, which brought great profit to his family, which eſtabliſhed his fame, and did honour to his country. It was his *Grammaticæ Latinæ Inſtitutiones*, which were publiſhed in 1725. This book was printed in *Ædibus Auctoris*. (*d*) It was dedicated to his maſters and patrons, *the Advocates*, and to Robert Dundas, the Dean of Faculty, an illuſtrious lawyer, to whoſe ſkill, eloquence, and courage, Scotland owes the important right, which juries had not exerciſed for ages before [1728,] of finding upon the general iſſue, guilty, or not guilty. (*e*) It was the *Pars Prima*, which treated of *etymology*, that was in this manner dedicated, in 1725, to thoſe, who were moſt worthy of his dedication: The *Pars Secunda*, which inveſtigated

(*c*) It was printed at Edinburgh, in 12mo.

(*d*) It was entered at Stationer's Hall, for Thomas Ruddiman, on the 4th of January 1725-6.

(*e*) Arnot's Criminal Trials, p. 190-91; where the curious reader will ſee the names of the jurymen, to whom their country owes thankful recollection for one of its beſt privileges.

ſyntax,

ſyntax, was delivered to the learned world, in 1731.

The Rudiments of Ruddiman had gradually effaced the prejudices of ſchoolmaſters, by the facility of their method, and the preciſion of their rules. They by theſe means made their way into general uſe. They were even tranſlated into other languages, and were ſoon adopted into the literature of other countries. (*f*) But, when the *Grammatical Inſtitutes* ſucceſſively appeared, they not only gave additional value to the *Rudiments*, but obtained univerſal approbation, for the judicioufneſs, with which the hand of a maſter had written them. The philological labours of Ruddiman were, in this manner, received into the ſchools of Scotland, by their uſefulneſs, though oppoſed by prejudice. He lived to ſee ſeven editions of his *Grammatical Inſtitutes* ſent

(*f*) Mr. Brown of the Advocates Library kindly communicated to me the copy of a letter, which was dated the 16th of June 1742, from the Rev. J. a. Porte, who was one of the regents of the college of Geneva, and had tranſlated Ruddiman's *Rudiments* into French; and which was written to Ruddiman in a very encomiaſtic ſtrain, with reſpect both to the author, and his book. Mr. profeſſor Porte's work was entitled: "Rudimens de la Langue Latine, ou Introduction "ſimple & aiſée a la Grammaire Latine, traduit de l'Anglois de Monſ. Ruddiman, par J. a. Porte, Miniſtre du St. "Evangile, & Regent au College de Geneve. Geneve, "1742. 8vo."

into the world, (*g*) with the royal licence to enjoy excluſively what he had laborioufly earned.

If we trace theſe intereſting notices a little farther, we ſhall find, that the hiſtory of teaching, in Scotland, and the progreſs of literature, are both interwoven with the life, and labours, of Ruddiman. The High School of Edinburgh may not improperly be deemed the philological repreſentative of the grammar ſchools of Scotland. From the epoch of the revival of learning, when the *Prymar*, and the *Plain Donat*, were excluſively taught, to the middle of the laſt century, this uſeful ſeminary had made ſucceſſive improvements, in its ſyſtem of inſtruction, under the care of the town-council of Edinburgh. This truth will appear from the *Ordo Scholæ Grammaticæ Edinenſis*, (*h*) during the year 1640, which contains many curious particulars, with regard to the modes of inſtruction, at that buſy period, when fanaticiſm, though it pervaded the ſtate, ſeems not to have entered the ſchool.

1ſt Claſs. In the firſt year, and during the firſt ſix months; the children were to be taught the principles of grammar, in *vernaculo ſermone*. They were at the ſame time

(*g*) The eighth edition was publiſhed, in 1762.

(*h*) This *paper* I found among the collections of Mr. Macky, the late profeſſor of hiſtory at Edinburgh, which were obligingly communicated to me by Principal Mac Cormack of St. Andrew's.

to

to learn the Latin names of every thing, on earth, and in heaven. During the ſecond ſix months; the children were daily to repeat a certain portion of grammar; and, they were incidentally to be taught particular ſentences, relating to life and manners.

2d Claſs. In the ſecond year, and during the firſt ſix months; the children were to repeat daily certain parts of grammar, but more particularly, as the ſame are laid down by Deſpauter; and to tranſlate the ſame into Engliſh: moreover, they were to read Cordery's Colloquies. During the ſecond ſix months, the children were to be taught daily the Syntax of Eraſmus; and the maſters were to teach, and the ſcholars to learn, in the Latin language.

3d Claſs. Through the whole of the third year; the boys were to repeat daily, a portion of etymology and ſyntax; to be exerciſed in reading Cicero's Epiſtles de Senectute, de Amicitio; Terence's Comedies and Elegies; Ovid's Triſtium; Buchanan's Pſalms; and to tranſlate Cicero's Epiſtles. They were to read the ſame *clara voce.*

4th Claſs. In the fourth year; the boys were to repeat daily, for the firſt month, what they had already learned. To be taught Buchanan's Proſody, with Deſpauter's Select Rules, and Buchanan's Epigrams and Poetry. During the other months, the boys were

to

to be exerciſed in poetry, and in the practice of the rules of grammar; to read Virgil, Ovid's Metamorphoſes, Horace, Buchanan's Pſalms; and to tranſlate Cicero, Cæſar, and Terence. The beauties of theſe authors were to be explained to the ſcholars.

5th Claſs. In the fifth year; the boys were to ſtudy the whole Rhetoric of Tulæus [Tully] and the greater part of the compendious Rhetoric of Caſſandeus. They were to read Cicero's Orations, and the ſhort ſpeeches in Salluſt, in Virgil, and in Lucan. They were to read diſtinctly and audibly; and to declaime.

Such was the plan of education, in the High School of Edinburgh, during the middle of the laſt century. The town-council was ſtudious to enforce this ſyſtem, for its uſefulneſs. The magiſtrates ſteadily prohibited the *vulgar ſchool-maſters* from teaching Latin: (*i*) They were careful

(*i*) There are the following entries on the council-books of the city of Edinburgh:—"November 1660, vulgar "ſchoolmaſters were diſcharged from teaching Latin. "There was a ſimilar prohibition, in May 1661. In Au- "guſt 1668, there paſſed an act, prohibiting any perſon "from teaching Latin, except the maſters of the High "School. In March 1679, there was iſſued a proclamation, "prohibiting ſingle perſons from keeping private or public "grammar ſchools, within the city or ſuburbs of Edinburgh. "Theſe prohibitions were repeated in December 1693, "when

careful to provide teachers of Engliſh, writing, and arithmetic: and they authorized a maſter of muſic, and an inſtructor in French.

From this plan, however the town-council ſomewhat departed, when it ordained, in September, 1696, Wedderburn's Rudiments to be taught in the High School. (*k*) The Grammar of Wedderburn appears to have been virtually ſuperſeded by the Inſtitutes of Ruddiman. Theſe *Grammatical Inſtitutes*, owing to their evident utility, have kept poſſeſſion of the High School, even to our own days.

But, an attempt has been lately made to expel the grammar of Ruddiman from the High School, not by open violence, or avowed authority, but by ſilent circumvention. It was Dr. Alexander Adam, the preſent rector of that great ſeminary, who attempted this; a maſter of extenſive learning, but of ſome conceitedneſs; to whom the world is, however, indebted for an

" when the doors of private ſchools were ordered to be " cloſed; and in June 1694. In July 1663, James Gib " was authorized to be the ſchoolmaſter of *muſic*. In November " 1663, Louis Buiſſon was admitted ſchoolmaſter to teach " French, and arithmetic, and to ſet up a ſign for that " end." But, it appears from Maitland's Hiſtory of Edinburgh, p. 34, that in 1574, the town-council agreed with a Frenchman to teach children French, and arithmetic; for each of whom, he was to receive twenty-five ſhillings Scots, and from the town a ſalary of twenty pounds a year.

(*k*) The town-council's records of that date.

admirable

admirable Compendium of *Roman Antiquities.* The four maſters, who teach ſubordinately to him, reſiſted this attempt. Being "clearly of "opinion, that Ruddiman's Grammar is beyond "compariſon, the moſt compleat and correct "ſyſtem of Latin grammar, that ever was com-"poſed," the four maſters continued to teach it in their ſeveral claſſes. The rector taught, in the fifth form, his own rules, in his own way. And, in this manner, was introduced into the High School, about the year 1778, an academical abſurdity, which had ſeldom or never occurred in pedagogical annals before, the teaching of two grammars, in one ſchool.

The High School ſuffered in its fame, and declined in its numbers, while the maſters diſagreed in ſentiment, and differed in practice. An appeal was at length made to the provoſt and town-council of Edinburgh, the patrons and viſitors of this celebrated ſchool.

It was in February 1785, that the Lord Provoſt, when he conſidered the high truſt of preſerving the diſcipline, and retaining the uſefulneſs, of an invaluable ſeminary, laid this appeal before the magiſtrates. The buſineſs was thought too weighty for their unaſſiſted deciſion. And they formally referred it to Doctor Robertſon, the principal of the college of Edinburgh, to the profeſſor of Greek, and to the profeſſor of Latin, who were to report their opinion, what grammar ought to be taught

taught for the acquirement of learning, and what regulations ought to be eſtabliſhed for promoting peace, and preſerving diſcipline, in the High School. An opinion was now looked for, which was to ſilence litigiouſneſs, by the force of its authority, and to allay pedagogical feuds, by the reaſonableneſs of its argument.

In October 1785, the principal and profeſſors made their report, in anſwer to the reference of the magiſtrates. They gave it as their opinion, that the uſe of Ruddiman's Grammar ought to be continued in the ſchool; being the work of a very learned, experienced, and judicious maſter, of the Latin tongue; and being almoſt generally taught in the ſchools of the kingdom. In order to gain the advantages of uniformity, the judicious referrees recommended that the four maſters, after mature conſultation, ſhould ſelect, from Ruddiman's Grammar, ſuch rules, or parts of rules, as they ſhould think neceſſary to be taught in their ſeveral claſſes. And, with deſign to make uniformity ſubſervient to conciliation, and to carry reconcilement into practice, the referendaries deſired the rector to continue the uſe of ſuch rules in his claſs, adding any other rules, or grammatical obſervations, which he might find in his own grammar, or which he might deem uſeful, in connecting the Engliſh with the Latin grammar.

The four maſters of the High School, James French, Luke Fraſer, William Cruikſhank, and William

William Nicol, were neither convinced by the reaſonings, nor awed by the authority of the referees. They ſaw with grief, that by their report, permiſſion was given to the teaching of two grammars in the ſame ſchool. During thirteen years, they had experienced the bad effects of this unſuitable practice. They had ſeen it check the progreſs of inſtruction. They had obſerved, that their pupils were leſs acquainted with grammar, at the end of the fifth year, than they had been at the termination of the fourth. They perſevered in their opinion, that Ruddiman's Grammar was undoubtedly the moſt correct ſyſtem of Latin grammar, that had ever been publiſhed. And thinking, that their ſilence would be regarded by the world as the guilt of betraying the beſt intereſts of claſſical education, in Edinburgh, and of diffuſing a bad example, through the kingdom, they repreſented theſe circumſtances to the magiſtrates, in November 1785; praying, that the ſcholars of the High School might be protected in their ſtudies, and the grammatical labours of Ruddiman might be reſtored to their rights.

Whatever influence may have been oppoſed to theſe juſt repreſentations, the voice of truth was at length heard. The lord provoſt and town-council, having conſidered the ſubject, on the 23d of Auguſt 1786, directed the rector and maſters to teach their ſcholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments,

ments, and Grammar; and prohibited any other grammar to be uſed in the High School. But, the pertinacity of pedantry ſeemed to emulate the perſeverance of Siſyphus. Doctor Adam, in his turn, tried to convince the magiſtrates, that boys would be leſs confounded, and better taught, by ſtudying ſucceſſively two grammars, than if confined to one. Yet, the lord provoſt and town-council were not convinced, that grammatical knowledge was to be moſt eaſily and accurately learned by double labour. And, on the 29th of November 1786, they renewed their former order, as viſitors, in favour of Ruddiman's Grammar; and at laſt annexed penalties to the diſobedience of their injunctions.

While the philological honour of Ruddiman was, in this manner, vindicated, the peace of the ſchool ſeems not to have been ſettled. The parental preference, which Doctor Adam naturally gave to his own grammar, appears to have excited the contempt of the ſubordinate maſters. Contempt eaſily begat contumely. The ſubordination of the boys was leſſened by bad example. And, a complaint was again made to the magiſtrates, as viſitors; who, having heard all parties, found, as it generally happens, all parties in ſome meaſure to blame. It was the lord provoſt Stirling, who calmed theſe conteſts of the High School, with the ſame ability, and addreſs, where-

with

with he ſuppreſſed, at a ſubſequent period, the fiercer tumults in the city. (*l*)

There were publiſhed, mean time, at Edinburgh, in 1725, for the uſe of ſchools, by William Adams, *Buchanan's Pſalms*, with *the Notes* of *Ruddiman*, a perſon, ſays the publiſher, in his preface, who ought ever to be mentioned with commendation, for his learning and his probity. The venders of literature, and the learned, mutually promote the profit of each other. The bookſellers were now ſtudious to praiſe the virtues of our grammarian, which contributed ſo greatly to their wealth.

It was perhaps to the diſputatious temper of pedagogues, that we owe the *Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcarnij*, which were publiſhed, at Edinburgh, by Freebairn, in 1727. (*m*) There was a moſt erudite preface by Freebairn, which had probably been written by Ruddiman. It was compoſed, and printed, by them, with a ſtrong recollection, of Burman's *Buchanani Opera*, which had been publiſhed two years before. With the petulance of pedantry, Burman had ſpoken contemptuouſly of Scottiſh literature; allowing how-

(*l*) See in THE APPENDIX, N° 5. copies of the acts of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh; and of the repreſentations of the maſters of the High School; whereby the uſe of Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar was finally eſtabliſhed, in that ſeminary.

(*m*) Of this little, but elegant, work, there was a ſecond edition, printed at London, in 1729, for Andrew Millar.

ever,

ever, what perhaps heightened the offence, that Buchanan had genius, and erudition. For this literary folly, Burman was now ſcholaſtically chaſtiſed. In oppoſition to the cenſure of Burman, Ruddiman produced Voluſenus, Blackwood, Dempſter, and the two Barclays, in ethics, and antiquities. With regard to Latin poetry, it was aſked, who have the Dutch to oppoſe to Arthur Johnſton, and the contributors to *The Deliciæ Poetarum Scotorum*, but their Bronkhuſius and Hoogſtratan? The admirable Crighton was confronted with the elegant Eraſmus. Cragius, the feudaliſt, was oppoſed to Grotius, the civilian, though, I think, with very inferior pretenſions. The fact really is, that during a long period, after the revival of letters, learned Scotſmen were numerouſly ſpread over Europe, who carried large contributions to the literature of every country, except their own. Peter Burman died in 1741; after giving elaborate commentaries on Phædrus, Lucan, and other claſſics, with five volumes, in quarto, of *Letters from the Learned.* He left behind him a great character for extenſive erudition, and critical acumen.

The fair opportunity, which the publication of this little volume furniſhed, was not loſt of ſpeaking in reſpect to the genius, ſcience, and poetry of Pitcairne, with deſerved commendations. Among other encomiaſtic verſes, in praiſe of that great phyſician, was printed, in this collection, the ele-

gy of Ruddiman. To this book of verſes, ſmall as it was, Sir William Scot of Thirleſtane, and Thomas Kincaid, a citizen of Edinburgh, were contributors. Men of judgement have lamented, that the Latin poetry of Pitcairn ſhould have fallen into oblivion, without much hope of revival. (*n*) But, Pitcairn, with all his genius, his elegance, and his vigour, has only met with the fate of thoſe, who delight more to catch at temporary topicks, than to cultivate ſubjects of laſting attraction, and of ſolid worth.

While Ruddiman endeavoured, by thoſe efforts, to vindicate his country's genius, he extended his active aſſiſtance to literary friends. During the time, that the erudite Ker was preparing his *Cantici Solomonis Paraphraſis gemina* for the preſs, he experienced this friendly help from Ruddiman. When he publiſhed his *Paraphraſe*, (*o*) in 1727, his gratitude made prefatory mention of Ruddiman's kindneſs. John Ker, who was born

(*n*) I have a comedy of Pitcairne, entitled, *The Aſſembly*. It was printed at London, in 1722, without any printer's name; and it was ſaid to be *by a Scots Gentleman*. Under this is written in my copy by a very old hand; "*Dr. Pitcairne.*" By *the Aſſembly* he means the Meeting of the Kirk of Scotland. It is unneceſſary to add, that *this comedy* is perſonal and political, ſarcaſtic and prophane. It never could have been acted on any ſtage.

(*o*) It was printed in ædibus Tho. Ruddimanni, impenſis Auctoris. 1727. 12°. I am ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs the copy, which Ker preſented to Benſon, in 1739.

at

at Dunblane, firſt roſe by his learning to be profeſſor of Greek, in the King's College, Aberdeen; and, being afterwards elevated to a chair, in the univerſity of Edinburgh, he repaid early attention with ſteady friendſhip.

While Ruddiman was in this manner exerting his uſual friendlineſs, he was doomed to ſuſtain another ſhock of domeſtic woe. His ſecond wife died, in 1727; and, by the ſame ſtroke of death, he was deprived of an uſeful aſſociate, and a conſtant friend. He conſoled himſelf by reflecting that,

"Æquâ lege neceſſitas
"Sortitur inſignes et imos."

He became ere long ambitious of the honour, or deſirous of the profit, which were annexed to the office of the univerſity printer. The college of Edinburgh, while it was yet in its infancy, began to print its *Theſes Philoſophicæ*, in 1596. (*p*) Its earlieſt typographer was Henry Charteris, the king's printer. (*q*) He was ſucceeded by Tho-

(*p*) The firſt theſis was in large octavo. Theſe academical themes aſſumed a quarto form in 1612. And before the year 1641, their ſize ſettled into a large folio. There is a collection of theſe papers in the College Library, which are valuable documents for the literary annals of the univerſity of Edinburgh.

(*q*) Theſes philoſophicæ, quarum patrocinium ſuſcepere adololeſcentes laureæ candidati, eaſdem popugnaturi, Aug. die 2 iu æde ſacra regii collegii, præſide G. R. ſub horâm 8 matutinam, Edinb. ex officii H. Charteris: 1596. [Herb. Typ. An. vol. 3. p. 1516; and p. 1521.]

mas Finlaſon, who alſo ſucceeded Charteris, as royal printer. They were followed by various other printers, who were probably employed, without any ſpecific authority. James Lindſay was the firſt, who, in 1645, ſtiled himſelf *Typographus Academiæ*. The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, as patrons of the college, certainly appointed Lindſay to this office, whatever may have then been its profits, or its honour. From their authority, Gideon Lithgo became his ſucceſſor, in 1647, who called himſelf *printer to the college*. On the 10th of June 1663, "the magiſtrates appointed Andrew Anderſon to be ordinar printer to the good town and college of the ſamen, in place of Gideon Lithgo, deceaſed, during pleaſure; he ſerving als well and als eaſie in the prices as utheris." (*r*) The widow, and the heirs, of Andrew Anderſon, continued to print for the city, and college, till the eſtabliſhment of Ruddiman's preſs. (*s*) And, with the patriotic purpoſe of ſupplying Scotland with ſchool-books, at a cheaper price, the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, in February 1728, appointed James Davidſon, and Thomas Ruddiman, joint printers to the univerſity, during the lives of

(*r*) City Records.

(*s*) The magiſtrates of Edinburgh, on the 4th of November 1702, allowed a ſalary of one hundred and ſixty marks, Scots, to the printer of the college. [City Records of that date.]

both,

both, and during *the life of the longeſt liver*. (*t*)

The time was now come, when Ruddiman was to engage in a work of more permanency, and greater profit, than the preface, however erudite, to the poems of his patron, or the employment, however gainful, of the college. He had already become

(*t*) The following is a copy of the appointment, from the city records. "At Edinburgh the 21ſt of February 1728: ——" The ſame day anent the petition given in by Mr. "James Davidſon, bookſeller in Edinburgh, and Mr. Tho- "mas Ruddiman, under keeper of the Advocates Library, "mentioning, That whereas the far greater part of the "books taught in our ſchools and colleges are imported "from foreign places into this country, to the great diſcou- "ragement of their own manufactories. And the petitioners "being well aſſured, that if the council, patrons of the uni- "verſity of this city, would be pleaſed to conſtitute them "printers to the ſaid univerſity, they will be enabled to print "the above-mentioned books better, and furniſh them at "eaſier rates than the country could be otherways provided "of them; and that the importation of ſuch books from fo- "reign places will be thereby in a great meaſure prevented: "Craving therefore the council to conſtitute and appoint "the petitioners conjoint printers to the ſaid univerſity, "with all the rights, privileges, and emoluments, thereto "belonging, for ſuch a term of years, as the council ſhould "think fit; as the petition bears, which being conſidered "by the council, they with the extraordinary deacons no- "minated and elected, and hereby nominats and elects the "ſaid Mr. James Davidſon and Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, to "be conjoint printers to the univerſity of this city, and "longeſt liver of them two, during their reſpective lives."

become the printer, and was ere long to be the proprietor, of a news-paper. From ſuch an editor, much of inſtruction, and ſomething of amuſement, muſt have doubtleſs been expected. Yet, were we to inſpect the pages of his news-paper, we ſhould not diſcover much of his activity, as a man, or any of his erudition, as a ſcholar.

The origin of news-papers, thoſe pleaſant vehicles of inſtruction, thoſe entertaining companions of our mornings, has not yet been inveſtigated with the preciſion, which is undoubtedly due to what has been emphatically called one of the ſafeguards of our privileges. We are ſtill unacquainted with the name of our firſt news-paper, and we are ſtill ignorant of the epoch of its original publication.

The intelligent Editor of *Dodſley's Old Plays* has, indeed, told the Engliſh world, though with leſs certainty than confidence, "that *Gallo-Belgicus* was the name of the firſt news-paper, publiſhed in England:" And, he maintains his poſition from *ancient Plays*, and draws his proofs from *obſolete Poetry*: May's comedy of the *Heir*, which was firſt acted, in 1620, opens in the following manner:—

Polymetes.

Haſt thou divulged the news,
That my ſon died at Athens?

Roſcio.

Yes; my Lord,

With

With every circumſtance, the time, the place,
And manner of his death; that 'tis believed,
And told for news, with as much confidence,
As if 'twere writ in *Gallo-Belgicus*. (*u*)

Inquiring for the certainty of facts, rather than the fictions of poetry, I went to the Britiſh Muſeum, where I ſaw, and handled, GALLO-BELGICUS. This collection, which had once belonged to the King's Library, ſhows plainly, though it is not compleat, the nature of the work. It may be called, *The State of Europe*; or, *The Annual Regiſter*; or it may be entitled more truly, *The Hiſtory of his own Times:* But, it is not a news-paper. (*x*)

Gallo-

(*u*) To the above text is ſubjoined the following note:—
" Cleveland, in his character of a *London Diurnal*, ſays:
" The original ſinner of this kind was Dutch, GALLO-BEL-
" GICUS, the *Protoplaſt*, and the *Modern Mercuries*, but *Hans-*
" *en-Kelders*. The exact time, when they were printed, I am
" unable to diſcover; but, they certainly were, as early as
" the reign of Queen Elizabeth; ſome intelligence given by
" MERCURIUS GALLO-BELGICUS being mentioned in
" *Carew's Survey of Cornwall*, page 126, which was origi-
" nally publiſhed in 1602: Doctor Donne, in his verſes on
" *Thom. Coryate's Crudities*, 1611, ſays:

——————— " To *Gallo-Belgicus* appear
" As deep a ſtateſman as a Gazetteer.

" Beaumont and Fletcher mention *Gallo-Belgicus* in the
" *Fair Maid of the Inn*. Act 4; Ben Jonſon, in the Poet-
" aſter, Act 5. S. 3; and Clapthorne alſo, in his *Wit in a*
" *Conſtable*."

(*x*) *Gallo-Belgicus* was written in the Latin language; and

Gallo-Belgicus ſeems to have been the firſt contemporary author, who, in modern times, detailed events, as they aroſe. He appears to have been well received; the firſt volume, which was printed for the widow of Godfred Karpenſis, having run through a ſecond edition, before the year 1603, with additions, and amendments. The fourth volume, which was publiſhed, in 1603, was compiled by Gaſpar Lorchan, for William Lutzenkirch. Succeſs ſoon gave riſe to rivalſhip. The fifth volume appears to have been collected by Gotard Arthus, for Sigiſmond Latom, and to have been printed at FRANKFORT, in 1605. This was plainly a rival work. GALLO-BELGICUS was now publiſhed half-yearly with a title-page and index to every volume; and was now, for the firſt time, uſefully ornamented with maps. It was written, as late as the year 1605, by John Philip Abel, and was printed, for the heirs of Latom, with the Emperor's ſpecial privilege. (y) I

had the following title: "MERCURIJ GALLO BELGICI: "ſive, rerum in Gallia, et Belgio potiſſimum: Hiſpania quo-"que, Italia, Anglia, Germania, Polonia, Vicinisque locis ab "anno 1588, ad Martium anni 1594, geſtarum, NUNCIJ." The firſt compiler of *Gallo-Belgicus* was M. Janſen, a Friſian. And the firſt volume in 8vo. containing ſix hundred and fifty pages, was printed at Cologne, in 1598. It was ornamented with a wooden cut, repreſenting Mercury ſtanding on a globe, with his uſual attributes.

(y) The 15th tome carries Gallo-Belgicus down to the year 1640. How long it continued I know not. About that epoch aroſe in other countries various competitors for the public favour.

flatter

flatter myſelf, the inquiſitive reader is now ſufficiently acquainted with the parentage, and performances, of GALLO-BELGICUS, of whom the poets, and the editor of poets, ſeem only from

" Rumour's tongue to have idly heard."

When Paul came to Athens, he perceived, that the Athenians, and the ſtrangers, reſiding there, ſpent their time in little more than " either to tell, or to hear ſome new thing." (z) At a period, more early, perhaps, than the time of Paul, the government of China diſtributed, through that moſt extenſive empire, a written paper, containing a liſt of the Mandarins, who were appointed to rule in every province. Yet, this Chineſe *Red Book*, which was afterwards printed, and is ſtill diſtributed, can ſcarcely be deemed a news-paper.

Venice is entitled to the honour of having produced the firſt *Gazetta*, as early as the year 1536. It was compiled upon the plan, which was afterwards adopted by Gallo-Belgicus, and contained much intelligence, both of Italy, and even of the reſt of Europe. Yet, a jealous government did not allow a *printed* news-paper. And, the Venetian *Gazetta* continued long after the invention of printing, to the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, and even to our own days, to be diſtributed in manuſcript. (a)

After

(z) Acts xvii. 21.

(a) In the Magliabechian library at Florence, there are thirty volumes of Venetian *Gazettas*, which commenced in 1536,

After inquiring, in various, countries, for the origin of news-papers, I had the ſatisfaction to find what I ſought for in England. It may gratify our national pride to be told, that mankind are indebted to the wiſdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh, for the firſt news-paper. The epoch of the Spaniſh Armada is alſo the epoch of a genuine news-paper. In the Britiſh Muſeum, there are ſeveral news-papers, which had been printed while the Spaniſh fleet was in the Engliſh Channel, during the year 1588. (*b*) It was a wiſe policy, to prevent, during a moment of general anxiety, the danger of falſe reports, by publiſhing real information. And, the earlieſt news-paper is entitled, THE ENGLISH MERCURIE, which, by *Authority*, "was imprinted, at London, "by Chriſtopher Barker, her Highneſſes prin-"ter, 1588." (*c*)

Burleigh's

1536, and which are all in manuſcript. In the frontiſpiece of each paper, it is called the *Gazetta* of ſuch a year. But, theſe curious papers were not all written at Venice, many of them being compoſed at Rome, and at other places in Italy. Lord Burghly, writing to Lord Talbot, on the 23d of October 1590, ſays, "I pray your lordſhip eſteem my news as "thoſe, which, in Venice, are fraught in the *Gazetta*." [Lodge's Illuſtrations of Hiſtory.] "I pray you, in your next," ſays James Howell to Mr. Leat, "ſend me the Venetian *Gazetta*." [Letters, 9th July 162-.]

(*b*) Sloan MSS. No. 4106.

(*c*) The firſt news-paper, which is preſerved, in this collection is, No. 50, and is in Roman, not in black, letter. It contains

Burleigh's news-papers were all *Extraordinary Gazettes*, which were publiſhed from time to time, as that profound ſtateſman wiſhed, either to inform, or to terrify the people. *The Mercuries* were probably firſt printed, in April 1588, when the Armada approached the ſhores of England. After the Spaniſh ſhips had been diſperſed by a wonderful exertion of prudence, and ſpirit, theſe *Extraordinary Gazettes* very ſeldom appeared. The Mercurie, No. 54, which is dated, on Monday, November the 24th 1588, informed the public, that the ſolemn thankſgiving for the ſucceſſes, which had been obtained againſt the Spaniſh Armada, was this day ſtrictly obſerved. This

contains the uſual articles of news, like the London Gazette of the preſent day. In that curious paper there are news, dated from Whitehall, on the 23d of July 1588. Under the date of July the 26th, there is the following notice: "Yeſterday "the Scots Ambaſſador, being introduced by Sir Francis "Walſingham, had a private audience of her Majeſty, to "whom he delivered a letter from the King his maſter; "containing the moſt cordial aſſurances of his reſolution to "adhere to her Majeſty's intereſts, and to thoſe of the Pro-"teſtant religion. And it may not here be improper to take "notice of a wiſe and ſpirited ſaying of this young prince "[he was twenty-two] to the Queen's miniſter at his court, "viz. That all the favour he did expect from the Spaniards "was the courteſy of Polypheme to Ulyſſes, *to be the laſt de-"voured.*"——I defy the Gazetteer of the preſent day to give a more decorous account of the introduction of a foreign miniſter. The aptneſs of King James's claſſical ſaying, carried it from the news-paper into hiſtory.

number contains alſo an article of news from Madrid, which ſpeaks of putting the Queen to death, and of the inſtruments of torture, that were on board the Spaniſh fleet. We may ſuppoſe, that ſuch paragraphs were deſigned by the policy of Burleigh, who underſtood all the artifices of printing, to excite the terrors of the Engliſh people, to point their reſentment againſt Spain, and to inflame their love for Elizabeth. (*d*)

Yet, are we told, that poſts gave riſe to weekly news-papers, *which are likewiſe a French invention.* The inventor was Theophraſt Renaudot, a phyſician, who, laying his ſcheme before

(*d*) At the end of the *Mercurie* No. 24, there are advertiſements of books, like thoſe of the preſent times:—

"1ſt. An Admonition to the People of England, wherein "are anſwered the ſlanderous Untruths, reproachfully ut-"tered by Martin Mar-Prelate, and others of his *broode*, "againſt the Biſhops and Chief of the Clergy.

"2dly. The copie of a letter ſent to Don Bernardin Men-"doza, Ambaſſador in France, for the King of Spain; de-"claring the State of England, &c. The ſecond edition.

"3dly. An exact Journal of all Paſſages at the Siege of "Bergan-op-Zoom. By an Eye-witneſs.

"4thly. Father Parſons's Coat well duſted; or ſhort and "pithy Animadverſions on that infamous Fardle of Abuſe "and Falſities, entitled, *Leiceſter's Common Wealth.*

"5thly. *Elizabetha Triumphans*, an Heroic Poem, by "James Aſke; with a Declaration how her Excellencie was "entertained at the Royal Courſe at Tilbury, and of the "Overthrow of the Spaniſh Fleet.

"All imprinted and to be ſold by John Field and Chriſ-"topher Barker."

Cardinal

Cardinal Richlieu, obtained from him a patent for *The Paris Gazette*, which was firſt publiſhed, in April 1631. Thus, would confident ignorance transfer this invention, which is ſo uſefully advantageous to the governors, and the governed, from the Engliſh Burleigh to the French Richlieu. (*e*) The dates demonſtrate, that the pleaſures and the benefits of a news-paper were enjoyed in England, more than forty years, before the eſtabliſhment of the *Paris Gazette*, by Renaudot, in France. And the *Engliſh Mercurie* will remain an inconteſtible proof of the exiſtence of a printed news-paper in England, at an epoch, when no other nation can boaſt a vehicle of news of a ſimilar kind.

The *Engliſh Mercurie* no longer proclaimed his news, when Elizabeth, ſpeaking of the *Armada*, had ſaid, *Flavit Deus et diſſipantur.* A news-paper had now gratified the curioſity of the people; and the curioſity of the people would be no longer ſatisfied without a news-paper. Burton complains, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which was firſt publiſhed, in 1614, "that if any "read now-a-days it is a play-book, or a "pamphlet of *newes.*" (*f*) The news-papers were at

(*e*) Totze's Preſent State of Europe, vol. 1. p. 148; who quotes *Anecdotes Literaires*, vol. 2. p. 275.

(*f*) Anat. of Melanch. p. 122. The text refers to occaſional publications of foreign intelligence. I have in my collection

a more early origin, than has generally been ſuppoſed. Similar papers were continued, though they aſſumed different names. In the preface to the *Swediſh Intelligencer*, which was publiſhed in 1632, "now the third time reviſed, corrected, "and augmented," we are aſſured, that, "very "good uſe have alſo been made of the *Weekly* "*Currantoes*, which, if a man of judgment read, "he ſhall find very true and very punctual: "Whoſoever will be cunning in the places and "perſons of Germany, and would underſtand "her wars, let him not deſpiſe *Currantoes*." (*b*)

Butter, the active news-monger of the times, was influenced by his intereſt to tell—

"News, old news, and ſuch news as you never heard of."

He was thus induced to convert his *Weekly News* into half-yearly news. And he publiſhed the *German Intelligencer*, in 1630; and the *Swediſh Intelligencer*, in 1631. He had for his compiler, William Watts, of Caius college, of whom it may be ſaid, that he was educated for other labours; and of whom Voſſius ſpeaks as *doctiſſimus et clariſſimus Watſius, qui optime de Hiſtoria meruit*. He was born near Lynn in Norfolk of I

(*b*) In the famous collection of pamphlets, which was compiled by Mr. Charles Tooker, there were *news-papers from* 1621 *to* 1640; there was a paper entitled *The Weekly Account*, from 1634 to 1655.—Theſe facts evince, what has been hitherto little underſtood, that we had regular newspapers, in England, long before the civil wars began.

know

know not what parentage. After being tranſplanted from the banks of the Cam to the groves of Oxford, he travelled into ſeveral countries, ſays Anthony Wood, and became maſter of divers languages. (*i*) He was, on his return, after the acceſſion of Charles I. made one of the king's chaplains, and was preferred, ſucceſſively, to livings, and dignities, in the church; and adhering manfully to the king's cauſe, he was ſequeſtered, plundered, and left without a ſhelter for his wife and children. He was carried by his courage, and reſentment, into the field, with Prince Rupert, during the hardieſt of his exploits; and died, in 1649, on board his fleet, in the harbour of Kinſale. He had an eſpecial hand, ſays Wood, in Sir Henry Spelman's gloſſary; he edited Matthew Paris; and, excluſive of other treatiſes, he publiſhed, before the civil wars of England began, ſeveral numbers of *news books*, (*k*) in the Engliſh tongue (more than forty), containing the occurrences, done in the wars between

(*i*) In the books of the privy-council, 22d December 1620, there is a paſs for William Watts, who was going, as chaplain, with Sir Albert Moreton, then appointed envoy to the united princes of Germany; but *this paſs was not to allow him to go to Rome.*

(*k*) The indefatigable Butter publiſhed, in 1636, No. 1. of *The principal Paſſages* of Germany, Italy, France, and other places; all faithfully taken out of good originals, by an *Engliſh Mercury*. But I doubt whether William Watts were this *Engliſh Mercury*.

the King of Sweden, and the Germans. (*l*) William Watts may, therefore, be deemed the *Gallo-Belgicus* of England.

We are now come, by a regular progreſs, to that memorable epoch, in Engliſh hiſtory,

"When civil dudgeon firſt grew high."

Each party, whether political, or religious, now hoped to gain their object, by ſpreading their pretenſions. From this ſource, the nation was ſoon over-run with tracts of every ſize, and of various denominations: (*m*) hence, the Diurnal, which continued its hebdomadal round, notwithſtanding the ridicule of Cleveland, from 1640 to 1660: and hence too the different *Mercuries*, which were ſent abroad, to inflame by their vehemence, or to conciliate by their wit; to convince by their argument, or to delude by their ſophiſtry. Many of them were written with extraordinary talents, and publiſhed with uncommon courage. The great

(*l*) Wood's Faſti, vol. 1. p. 210-11.

(*m*) Of thoſe tracts, his preſent Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to give a very fine collection to the Britiſh Muſeum, for the uſe of the public. From the curious ſpecimens, which it contains, I am enabled to ſtate, that previous to the fatal epoch of the murder of Charles I. there had been publiſhed more than a hundred news-papers with different titles: and from that period to the Reſtoration, there were upwards of eighty other news-papers; all which were written with various purpoſes of good, or of miſchief. See a *Chronological Liſt of thoſe News-papers* in the APPENDIX, No. 6.

writer

writer of Mercuries was Marchmont Needham, who was born in 1620, and was educated at Oxford; who aſſumed all the colours of the chameleon, during thoſe contentious times: and being diſcharged from writing public intelligence by the council of ſtate, in March 1660, he was allowed to live at the Reſtoration, till at length, ſays Anthony Wood, *this moſt ſeditious, mutable, and railing author*, died ſuddenly, in Devereux Court, in November 1678. (*n*)

When hoſtilities commenced, every event, during a moſt eventful period, had its own hiſtorian, who communicated *News* from *Hull*, *Truths* from *York*, *Warranted Tidings* from Ireland, and *Special Paſſages* from *ſeveral Places*. Theſe were all occaſional papers. Impatient, however, as a diſtracted people were for information, the news were never diſtributed daily. The various news-papers were publiſhed weekly at firſt; but, in the progreſs of events, and in the ardour of curioſity, they were diſtributed twice, or thrice, in every week. Such were the "French Intelligencer," the "Dutch Spye," the "Iriſh Mercury," and the "Scots Dove;" the "Parliament Kite," and the "Secret Owl." *Mercurius Acheronticus* brought them hebdomadal *News from Hell*, *Mercurius Democritus* communicated wonderful news from the World in the Moon, the *Laughing Mercury* gave perfect news from the Antipodes, and *Mercurius Maſtix* faith-

(*n*) See Ath. Ox. vol. 2. p. 626-31.

fully laſhed all Scouts, Mercuries, Poſts, Spies, and other Intelligencers.

Amid this clamour of contradiction, this activity of ridicule, this tumult of laughter, Scotland was not neglected. As early as 1642, there were publiſhed at London, *The Scots Scout's Diſcoveries.* On the 30th of September 1643, appeared *The Scots Intelligencer*, or *the Weekly News from Scotland and the Court.* On the ſame day, flew abroad *The Scots Dove*;

> " Our Dove tells newſes from the King's,
> " And of harmonious letters ſings."

In 1644, arrived weekly, *Intelligence from the South Borders of Scotland. Mercurius Scoticus* appeared in 1651. And, in the ſubſequent year, was given out *The Theme*, or Scoto-Preſbyter, which, with admirable ridicule, inquires, " Whe-
" ther it be not as little diſhonourable for the
" Scots to be conquered by the Engliſh, in 1652,
" as to have been theſe twelve years paſt
" ſlaves to the covenant." All theſe papers were aſſuredly publiſhed at London, either to gratify private intereſt, or to promote public meaſures, though ſome of them are miſtakingly ſuppoſed to have been printed at Edinburgh. (*o*)

It

(*o*) See Arnot's Hiſtory of Edinburgh, which gives an account of the eſtabliſhment of news-papers in Scotland, that is very ſuperficial, and inaccurate. See Spalding's Hiſtory of the Troubles in Scotland, vol. 1. p. 336. " Now,
" [Decem-

It is a remarkable fact, which hiſtory was either too idle to aſcertain, or too much aſhamed to relate, that the arms of Cromwell communicated to Scotland, with other benefits, the firſt news-paper, which had ever illuminated the gloom, or diſpelled the fanaticiſm, of the North. Each army carried its own printer with it; expecting either to convince by its reaſoning, or to delude by its falſehood. King Charles carried Robert Barker with him to Newcaſtle, in 1639. And General Cromwell conveyed Chriſtopher Higgins to Leith, in 1652. When Cromwell had here eſtabliſhed a citadel, Higgins reprinted, in November 1652, what had been already publiſhed at London, *a Diurnal of ſome Paſſages and Affairs*, for the information of the Engliſh ſoldiers. *Mercurius Politicus* was firſt reprinted, at Leith, on the 26th of October 1653. The reprinting of it was transferred to Edinburgh, in November 1654; where it continued to be publiſhed, till the 11th of April 1660; and was then reprinted, under the name of *Mercurius Publicus*.

The time was, however, at hand, when Scotland was to enjoy the luxury of a news-paper, which was of Scottiſh manufacture. On the 31ſt of December, 1660, appeared, at Edinburgh,

" [December 1642] printed papers daily came from London, " called *Diurnal Occurrences*, declaring what is done in Par- " liament." Spalding then lived at ABERDEEN.

MERCURIUS CALEDONIUS: *Compriſing the Affairs in Agitation, in Scotland, with a Survey of foreign Intelligence.* (*p*) It was a ſon of the Biſhop of Orkney, Thomas Sydſerfe, who now thought he had the wit to amuſe, the knowledge to inſtruct, and the addreſs to captivate, the lovers of news, in Scotland. But, he was only able, with all his powers, to extend his publication to ten numbers, which were very loyal, very illiterate, and very affected.

Even after the Reſtoration, the news-papers, which were publiſhed, by authority, at London, continued to be reprinted at Edinburgh, though not by the hand of Higgins. *The Mercurius Publicus* was here republiſhed, till it was ſuperſeded by *The Kingdom's Intelligencer*, which ſtill retailed the news of London to the people of Scotland, at the time, that Ruddiman was born.

In the annals of our literature, and our freedom, it is a memorable fact, that there was not a news-paper printed in Scotland, at the æra of the Revolution. The few had doubtleſs inſtructed themſelves, during ſeveral years, from the *London Gazette.* And the many had been too buſy,

(*p*) *The Mercurius Caledonius*, No. 1. was dated from Monday the 31ſt of December, 1660 to Tueſday the 8th of January, 1661. It was a ſmall 4to. of eight pages, which was printed by *a Society of Stationers*, at Edinburgh, and was publiſhed once a week.—The laſt paper, No. 10, was dated from March 22d, to March 28, 1661.

during

during the late times, with the affairs of the other world, to be very anxious about the events of this. Yet, were the eſtates of Scotland, who aſſembled at Edinburgh, on the 14th of March, 1689, and the mobs, which outraged, on that occaſion, both law and religion, ſufficiently inflamed, without the agency of a news-paper (*q*).

Whatever freedom, either of thought, or of printing, may have been eſtabliſhed, in Scotland, by the Revolution, ten years elapſed, before it was deemed ſafe by the public, or advantageous by an individual, to print a news-paper. THE EDINBURGH GAZETTE was at length publiſhed, by authority, in February 1699, by James Watſon, who is ſtill remembered for his *Hiſtory of the Art of Printing*. (*r*) Having publiſhed only forty-

(*q*) In order to ſupply that deficiency, at Edinburgh, there was publiſhed, at London, in a folio half ſheet, *An Account of the Proceedings of the Meeting of the Eſtates of Scotland, with Licence, by Richard Chiſwell, at the Roſe and Crown, in St. Paul's Church Yard.* This paper was licenſed on the 25th of March 1689, and was continued by Richard Baldwin, till October 1690. Together with the proceedings of the convention, this paper contained news and advertiſements; and when the Revolution had been accompliſhed, in Scotland, it ſeems to have ceaſed, in England. My copy, which had belonged to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, ends with No. 147, and is dated from Tueſday October 14th to Saturday October 18th, 1690.

(*r*) The firſt number of the *Edinburgh Gazette* was dated from Tueſday, February 28th, to Thurſday, March 2d, 1699; and was of courſe publiſhed every Tueſday and Thurſday, in a whole ſheet folio, with two columns in each page.

one numbers, he transferred, in July 1699, while Ruddiman was ſtill the ſchoolmaſter of Lawrence Kirk, the *Edinburgh Gazette* to John Reid, on whoſe death, it became the property of John Reid, his ſon, who continued to print the *Edinburgh Gazette*, even after the Union. Watſon was, for ſeveral years, the great news-monger of Scotland, as Butter had been of England, during the prior age. In February 1705, he eſtabliſhed the *Edinburgh Courant*, which, after he had printed fifty-five numbers, he relinquiſhed to the heirs and ſucceſſors of Andrew Anderſon, the printer to the Queen, to the city, and to the college. (*s*) Yet, Watſon ſtill hoped for profit, or honour, from printing a news-paper. And, in September 1705, he publiſhed the *Scots Courant*, which he continued to print, beyond the year 1718. (*t*) At the epoch of the Union, Scotland had thus ſucceſſively acquired three news-papers, which were all publiſhed at Edinburgh; but neither

(*s*) The firſt number of the *Edinburgh Courant* was dated from Wedneſday the 14th to Monday the 19th of February 1705; and was publiſhed twice a week, on the Mondays and Wedneſdays. On the 1ſt of February 1710, the town-council authoriſed Mr. Daniel De-Foe to print this paper, in the place of the deceaſed Adam Bog, and prohibited any other perſon to print news under the name of the *Edinburgh Courant*. Yet, was this paper certainly printed by John Reid, junior, in 1709, and in 1710, after the 1ſt of February.

(*t*) The *Scots Courant* was alſo publiſhed twice a week, on the Mondays and Wedneſdays, in a folio half ſheet, and ſold at the Exchange Coffee-houſe.

pro-

promoted that meaſure by their facts, nor retarded it by their declamations.

To the *Gazette*, the *Edinburgh Courant*, and the *Scots Courant*, were added, in October 1708, the *Edinburgh Flying Poſt*; in Auguſt 1709, the *Scots Poſtman*, which was printed by John Moncur for David Fearne; and in March 1710, the *North Tatler*, which was printed by John Reid for Samuel Colvil. (*u*)

The year 1715, when Ruddiman began to print, is alſo the epoch, when the commercial city of Glaſgow firſt enjoyed the advantages of a news-paper. (*x*) *The Glaſgow Courant* alone was then equal to her wants. Her traffic, her opulence, and her knowledge, give circulation,

(*u*) The *Flying Poſt* was printed by John Reids, elder and younger, three times a week, in a folio half-ſheet.—The *Scots Poſtman* was eſtabliſhed by permiſſion from the town-council on the 17th of Auguſt 1709; and continued to be publiſhed on Tueſdays, Thurſdays, and Saturdays.—The *Tatler*, No. 1, was dated from the 27th of March to the 1ſt of April 1710, and was publiſhed every Monday and Friday.

(*x*) The *Glaſgow Courant*, containing the occurrences both at home and abroad, No. 1. was dated from Friday, November 11th, to Monday, November 14th, 1715. Glaſgow, printed for R. T. and ſold at the printing-houſe, in the college, and at the poſt-office. It was a ſmall 4to printed on bad paper, in one column, three times a week, for the benefit of the country, price three halfpence. The title was changed in No. 3, to *The Weſt Country Intelligence*; containing the news both at home and abroad. I ſaw a collection of theſe news-papers, in the College Library, at Glaſgow.

at

at preſent, to a *Journal*, a *Mercury*, an *Advertiſer*, and a *Courier*.

The printing of a news-paper at Glaſgow did not prevent the eſtabliſhment of other news-papers at Edinburgh. In March 1714, Robert Brown began to print the *Edinburgh Gazette*, or *Scots Poſtman*, on Tueſday and Thurſday, in every week. On the 24th of December 1718, the town-council gave an excluſive privilege to James M'Ewen, ſtationer-burgeſs, to publiſh three times a week, *The Edinburgh Evening Courant*; "the ſaid James being obliged, before pub-"lication, to give ane coppie of his print to the "magiſtrates." (*y*) This paper continues to be publiſhed by David Ramſay, though I am unable to tell, whether he comply with the original condition, of giving *ane coppie of his print to the preſent magiſtrates.*

We have, in this manner, been led forward, while we left Ruddiman engaged in his philological labours, to the epoch, in his life, of the eſtabliſhment of the CALEDONIAN MERCURY, which he was firſt to print, and afterwards to own. The original number of this news-paper was publiſhed, at Edinburgh, on Thurſday, April the 28th, in the year 1720. It was printed by William Adams, Junior, for William Rolland, a lawyer, who was the earlieſt proprietor, with ſuch

(*y*) See the council regiſters of that date.

a re-

a reception as hath inſured its continuance to the preſent times. (z)

Of the *Caledonian Mercury*, Adams printed five hundred and eighty-nine numbers. On the 17th of January 1724, Ruddiman began to print the ſubſequent number, at his printing-houſe, in Moroccoe's Cloſe, in the Lawn Market. The deceaſe of Rolland, in March 1729, transferred to Ruddiman the property of the *Caledonian Mercury*; which, from number thirteen hundred and ninety-ſix, was printed for, and by, Thomas, and Walter, Ruddiman, and ſold at the ſhop of Alexander Symmers, bookſeller, in the Parliament Square. In this manner was the property in the *Caledonian Mercury* transferred, from the

(z) The Caledonian Mercury was at firſt printed three times a week, on Monday, Tueſday, and Thurſday, in a ſmall 4to of four pages, with two columns in each page, and 50 lines in each column; ſo, the whole paper contained only 400 lines. It now contains, in its folio form, no fewer than 2480 lines, or, more than ſix times what it originally did: And, as each line contained at firſt one fourth leſs matter, the paper now comprehends of matter more than eight times of what it did in 1729. On the 12th of November 1739, the Caledonian Mercury was printed for Thomas Ruddiman and Co. It was printed anonymouſly from No. 3892, Monday 23d September, to No. 3916, Monday 18th November, 1745, when the former ſignature was again aſſumed. On the 17th of March 1748, this paper was printed as formerly for Thomas and Walter Ruddiman. Such were the changes of the Caledonian Mercury, when it was far leſs entertaining and profitable than it has ſince become. It was originally embelliſhed with the arms of Scotland.

founder

founder of it, to the family of Ruddiman. In his family, it continued, though under various modifications, and during troubleſome times, from March 1729, to May 1772, when it was ſold by the truſtees of Ruddiman's grand-children, with the printing-houſe, and printing-materials, to Mr. John Robertſon, a printer of ſufficient learning, and of opulent circumſtances. (*a*)

While Ruddiman thus undertook the additional cares of a news-paper, and continued his

(*a*) In conſequence of that ſale, the truſtees publiſhed in the Caledonian Mercury, No. 7884, on the 16th of May 1772, the following advertiſement:—"The printing co-"partnery betwixt Thomas and Walter Ruddiman, which "ſince their death has hitherto been continued in behalf of "their repreſentatives, being now diſſolved; and the pro-"perty of the printing-houſe, types, and all other materials, "ſold to John Robertſon, printer here, who has alſo pur-"chaſed from the copartnery the right of publiſhing the "Caledonian Mercury: We, the truſtees for the grand-"children of Thomas Ruddiman, who benefited the learned "world ſo much by his grammatical knowledge, and many "uſeful publications, think ourſelves obliged not only to re-"turn grateful thanks for the generous countenance hither-"to afforded to this houſe and to his poſterity; but alſo, as "Mr. Robertſon has dealt by us with openneſs and candour "in the courſe of this tranſaction, and is to continue the "buſineſs in the ſame houſe, and the publication of the CA-"LEDONIAN MERCURY in the ſame way, we preſume "to recommend him in the moſt earneſt manner to all the "friends and well-wiſhers of the memory of Thomas, and "Walter, Ruddiman.

"John Mackenzie, John Hutton,
"George Stuart, William Henry."

uſual ſtudies, he again wiſhed for matrimonial comforts, at the ripe age of fifty-five. It was on the 29th day of September 1729, that he married, for his third wife, Anne Smith, the daughter of Thomas Smith, a merchant, in Edinburgh, who, in London, had been called a woollen-draper; and who, marrying the heireſs of a brew-houſe, carried on the profitable buſineſs of a brewer till his death. What fortune ſhe brought Ruddiman I am unable to tell. He certainly engaged, by his marriage contract, to ſecure to her an annuity, which ſhould be equal to the intereſt of ten thouſand marks, Scots, excluſive of her expectations from Aliſon Young, her aunt. He found her a faithful manager of his houſehold, and a pleaſant companion of his age. She gave him a ſon, who died in his infancy, and a daughter, Aliſon, who, having married, at the age of ſeventeen, James Stuart, a lawyer, in Edinburgh, on the 4th of September 1747, has produced a numerous progeny, to perpetuate his blood.

In addition to the comforts of a wife, Ruddiman ere long partook of the gifts of fortune, if not of the rewards of merit. On the 6th of January 1730, he obtained a ſtep in his office, though he gained no acceſſion to his income. When Mr. John Spottiſwood died, in February 1728, after he had been five-and-twenty years the principal keeper of the Advocates Library, Ruddiman remained, for almoſt

two

two years, without a ſuperior. But, at the anniverſary meeting of *the Faculty*, on the 6th of January 1730, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman was appointed library-keeper, though without any addition to his ſalary. (*b*) Whether he now exe-

(*b*) At a meeting of the Faculty of Advocates, on the 6th of January 1730, Mr. Hugh Dalrymple, one of the curators of the library, repreſented, that there having been no principal keeper thereof appointed, ſince the death of Mr. John Spottiſwoode, and it being neceſſary that one ſhould bear the name of Library Keeper for demanding the books from the keeper of the warehouſe of Stationers Hall, under the 8th of Queen Anne, ch. 19; and moved that, for obtaining the ſaid end, and for preventing any new burden on the Faculty's ſtock, by creating one of the Faculty the principal keeper with a ſalary, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, the preſent under-keeper, ſhould be named the Library Keeper, without any addition to his ſalary on that account. After ſome reaſoning, a few of the members were of opinion, that it was for the honour of the Faculty and the reputation of their library, after the example of ſimilar inſtitutions, in other countries, the principal keeper ſhould be ſome perſon of conſideration in their own ſociety; while other members, on the other hand, inſiſted, that the office was in a great meaſure ſupplied by the five curators of the library, who, being all members, had the principal charge thereof: The Faculty, after maturely conſidering the whole matter, and ſeveral arguments adduced on both ſides, came to the following reſolution;—"That they would not in future create "one of their own body the honorary keeper of the li-"brary, with a ſalary annexed to his office;" and they accordingly appointed and empowered Mr. Thomas Ruddiman to call for ſuch books from Stationers Hall, as their library had a right to by the above-mentioned act of parliament, and to give receipts for the ſame.

cuted

cuted the whole truſt, which became more laborious, both from extending the plan of an extenſive collection, and from the increaſe of juridical buſineſs, cannot now be aſcertained. He was ere long provided with an aſſiſtant, who being his countryman, that had a little of his learning, and ſome of his principles, was probably recommended by himſelf. It was Walter Goodal, who was appointed the under-keeper of the Advocates Library, on the 14th of June 1735; and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the hardy enterprize of proving, in oppoſition to prejudice, that the letters, which had been attributed to Mary, the Queen of Scots, were forgeries.

I have taken ſome pains to reſcue Goodal from the oblivion, into which the literati of Edinburgh have allowed him to fall. Though his talents did not place him in the foremoſt rank, the ſucceſs, with which he executed that enterprize, entitles him to biographical recollection. The Goodals of the pariſh of Ordiphul, in that part of the ancient diviſion of Banfſhire, which is called the Boyne, were a numerous race, who emerged but little from the lower orders. Walter Goodal was the eldeſt ſon of John Goodal, a farmer, at Acres of Culfin, by Margaret Taylor, the ſiſter of James Taylor, who was parochial ſchoolmaſter, in Ordiphul. In this pariſh, Walter was born, about the year 1706. He was, no doubt, inſtructed in

grammar by his uncle. And, in December 1723, he entered himſelf a ſtudent in the King's college, Aberdeen; where he did not continue long enough to obtain, what Ruddiman valued ſo much, the degree of Maſter of Arts. (*c*) I am unable to trace him through his ſucceſſive employments, from his leaving the King's college till his appearance in the Advocates Library, about the year 1730, though he had not a formal appointment in it, till the 14th of June 1735. Goodal now commenced the fellow-labourer of Ruddiman, in compiling "A Catalogue of the "Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edin-"burgh." This accurate compilation was begun, in 1735, and by their joint diligence was, with the exception of the laſt page, printed, in 1742. (*d*)

(*c*) He entered his name on the books of the college, on the 1ſt of December 1723, Walter Goodal, *Boynenſis*; and he ſtudied under profeſſor Alexander Burnet. For this information I am obliged to profeſſor Thomas Gordon of that college.

(*d*) It was printed, in folio, by Thomas, Walter, and Thomas, Ruddiman, at Edinburgh. This moſt uſeful catalogue was formed on the plan of the *Bibliotheca Cardinalis Imperialis*. A ſecond volume, containing the books, that had been collected, ſince 1742, was compiled on the ſame plan, and nearly to as great an extent, by Alexander Brown, the preſent librarian, and publiſhed in January 1776. A large Appendix, containing the additions to the library, ſince 1776, was printed in 1787.

It

It was about this time, that Goodal formed his deſign of writing *The Life* of Mary, "the goddeſs of his idolatry." But, he appears to have been either teazed by his enemies, or adviſed by his friends, to convert his materials into his well-known *Examination of the Letters, ſaid to be written by Mary, Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell.* (*e*) This deviation, from his original purpoſe, is not to be much regretted, conſidering into whoſe hands the life of Mary was to fall. With this *Examination* Ruddiman was certainly acquainted, (*f*) and was eaſily induced to contribute his ſuggeſtions.

For the diſcovery of truth, and the eſtabliſhment of innocence, Goodal did much, by his elaborate examination, though he left much for others to do. He had done more, had he had leſs prejudice, and greater coolneſs. He certainly had diligence of reſearch, ſagacity of inveſtigation, and keenneſs of remark: but his zeal ſometimes carried him out of his courſe, his prejudice often blunted his acuteneſs, and his deſire of recrimination never failed to enfeeble the ſtrength of his criticiſm. The *Defence* of the

(*e*) It was printed, in 2 vols. 8vo. at Edinburgh, by Thomas, and Walter, Ruddimans, 1754.

(*f*) Anſwer to Logan, p. 69; whereby it appears, that Goodal was even, in 1747, at work on his Vindication, which, being *under the management of a very fit hand,* was expected ere long to ſee the light.

Biſhop of Roſs, which he wrote at the time, when facts were known, and danger was near, has never been ſatisfactorily anſwered. But, it was Goodal, who firſt attempted, with uncommon ſucceſs, to demonſtrate by *intrinſick and extrinſick evidence*, that the letters, which had been attributed to Mary, were forgeries. He convinced all thoſe, who were diſpoſed to make every preſumption in favour of innocence. He made little impreſſion upon thoſe, who, affecting ſubtility, oppoſed philoſophical indifference to poſitive proofs. The ſcholars, who had placed themſelves on the heights of literature, far from yielding aſſent to his evidence, endeavoured to anſwer his examination, in an evil hour for their own fame: but,

"Quod ratio nequiit, ſæpe ſanavit mora."

Mean time, Goodal employed himſelf in other labours. He publiſhed, in 1754, Sir John Scot's *Staggering State of Scots Stateſmen*, a work, that required the emendatory notes, which Goodal ſupplied, with more diligence than preciſion. He contributed alſo, in 1754, to *Sir James Balfour's Practicks*, what is deemed by competent judges a learned preface, together with a life of the author. When Keith publiſhed, in 1755, his *New Catalogue of Scots Biſhops*, he gratefully acknowledged the aſſiſtance of Goodal, particularly with regard to *the account of the Culdees*, which at laſt is extremely erroneous. He edited *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, which, the moſt prejudiced have

have allowed, to be a laudable work. He chiefly made uſe of the manuſcript of Fordun, which is in the library of the univerſity of Edinburgh, (*g*) and which, Ruddiman ſays, is the beſt. Goodal's *introduction* to *Fordun* ſhews, that his knowledge of the hiſtory of Scotland was neither profound, nor accurate; that his inveſtigation was ſometimes obſtructed by prejudice, and his candour often overpowered by zeal. In the midſt of theſe employments, he married, I know not what woman, who brought him a ſon, that made verſes, and thought himſelf equal as a poet to Dryden. During his latter days, poor Goodal paid his adoration ſeldomer to Apollo than to

(*g*) I obſerved the following entry in the records of the city of Edinburgh:—"22d April 1745, The MS. of *Joannis "Forduni Scotichronicon* was put into the advocates library, "for being publiſhed. A bond for return thereof was pro- "duced."—Goodal's *Fordun* was a moſt injudicious publication. The firſt volume was publiſhed in folio, by Robert Fleming, at Edinburgh, in 1747, without a preface, or the name of the editor. There is a prefatory advertiſement, indeed, which apologizes for the delay of the work, owing to *the confuſions of the late rebellion*; and which promiſes the ſecond volume with all convenient ſpeed. The ſecond volume at length appeared, in 1759, with an *introduction* by Goodal, and a diſſertation on the marriage of Robert 3d, with Elizabeth Mure, by Gordon of Buthlaw, which had been publiſhed, in a folio ſize, 1749. Goodal's *Fordun* ſells for the price of waſte paper. The *introduction* was ten years afterwards tranſlated into Engliſh, and publiſhed at London, 1769, in 8vo, with little more ſucceſs.

Bacchus; who generally overcame his votary, as often as he aſked his aid. Goodal died, on the 28th of July 1766, in bad circumſtances, after all his labours. In Ruddiman he had ever found a friend, (*b*) who relieved his neceſſities, yet deſpiſed his groſſneſs.

Amidſt all his avocations, Ruddiman never deſiſted from his philological ſtudies. He was, by this ſtudiouſneſs, enabled to publiſh, in 1731, *Grammaticæ Latinæ Inſtitutiones*, pars ſecunda. This elaborate book was printed in *ædibus auctoris*, by his own workmen. In part the firſt, he had already inſtructed the youth of Scotland, in the principles of *etymology*. In the preſent work, he treats of *ſyntax*, or conſtruction. As theſe *Inſtitutions* were the labour of years, ſo has he diſcuſſed his difficult ſubject, in an admirable diſplay of method, without tediouſneſs, of preciſion, without ſubtlety, and of conciſeneſs, without obſcurity. He every where ſpeaks with reſpect of the performances of others, and always with modeſty of his own. Though he had now publiſhed *pars ſecunda*, with regard to *ſyntax*, he did not here relinquiſh a ſubject, which has doubts to be explained, and difficulties to be removed. And, with his uſual diligence, he prepared a *pars*

(*b*) In Ruddiman's deed of ſettlement, dated the 22d of March 1756, there is mention of a bond for 90*l.* ſterling from Walter Goodal, as an outſtanding debt.

tertia,

tertia, being a *Proſodia*, which is ſaid by judges to be more copious, and correct, than any treatiſe of the kind, that has been yet given to the world. When Ruddiman was ſolicited to print his *Proſody*, thus copious and correct, he ſaid dryly, *that the age has ſo little taſte, the ſale would not pay the expence.* The two parts of his Grammatical Inſtitutes, he afterwards abridged, and publiſhed, for the accommodation of youth. And, to this abridgment, which has been vulgarly called his *Shorter Grammar*, he ſubjoined an abſtract of his *Proſodia.* (*i*)

Ruddiman was at length ſo ſuperior as a Latin grammarian, that his fame incited envy, and his philology produced imitation. Such was the origin of *Grammaticæ Latinæ Compendium*, which was publiſhed at Edinburgh, in 1732, by Robert Trotter, the ſchoolmaſter of Dumfries. (*k*) Trot-

(*i*) For this work he obtained, on the 5th of May 1756, the royal privilege for the excluſive printing, during fourteen years, under the title of "*Grammaticæ Latinæ "Inſtitutiones, facili, et ad Puerorum captum accommodatâ, "Methodo perſcriptæ.*" Of this treatiſe, the 8th edition was printed at Edinburgh, by Walter Ruddiman, John Richardſon, and company, 1762, 8vo.

(*k*) Of this *Compendium*, there appears to have been an impreſſion, in 1733: but, it was merely the old edition with a new title page.

ter's affectation of brevity brought to recollection the remark of Horace:—

" Brevis eſſe laboro,
Obſcurus fio."

The conceitedneſs, the envy, and the errors, of Trotter, were ſoon expoſed with abundant learning, and chaſtiſed with ſufficient ſharpneſs, by Mr. John Love, who publiſhed his Animadverſions, in 1733. (*l*) The opening paragraph will give the reader a good ſpecimen of the grammar of Trotter, and of the animadverſions of Love; —" page 1, line 3, *Grammaticæ quæ eſt ars rectè* " *loquendi ſcribendique, partes ſunt quatuor.* Mr. " Trotter here, for the ſake of an affected bre- " vity, has jumbled together the definition, and " the diviſion, of grammar, which muſt needs " perplex the young ſcholar, at his entry, to " this performance."—A new title page ſeems to have been the only reply of Trotter, who felt the wound, without being able to return the ſtroke.

(*l*) The *Animadverſions on the Latin Grammar lately publiſhed by Mr. Robert Trotter, ſchoolmaſter at Dumfries,* were printed at Edinburgh, in 1733, without the printer's name: the work, however, was evidently printed in the houſe of Ruddiman, who printed with it a *Diſſertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Language.* But, as he was highly praiſed, his modeſty would not allow him to appear even as the printer.

Mr.

Mr. John Love, who was now the vindicator of Ruddiman, became ere long his friend, but his adverſary afterwards. He was born, in July 1695, at Dunbarton, the Dun-briton of the Britiſh, the *Arx Britonum* of the Romans, the Dunclidon of Ravennas, the Alcluyd of Bede; and he was the ſon of John Love, a book-ſeller, who, like greater dealers, in greater towns, ſupplied his cuſtomers with ſuch books, as their taſte required, and, like the father of Johnſon, occaſionally exhibited his goods at the neighbouring fairs. (*m*) He ſent his ſon firſt to the ſchool at Dunbarton, and afterwards to the college of Glaſgow. Here, having finiſhed his ſtudies, the ſon became the uſher to his old maſter, David M'Alpine, and, in 1720, his ſucceſſor. On the 17th of October 1721, he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Archibald Campbell, a ſurgeon, and one of the bailies of Glaſgow, at *the Union*, for which, being a ſtrenuous advocate, he was greatly injured by the mob, both in his property, and his perſon. By her Love had thirteen children, who are all dead, except Lieutenant Robert Love of the royal navy, an experienced and hardy ſeaman, and David Love, the preſent

(*m*) The books, which were at that time chiefly read, were *Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progreſs, Ambroſe's Holy War with Devils, Baxter's Call to the Unconverted.* This wo thy dealer in books, and in ſuch other articles, as the town and the country demanded, died in 1725, at the age of ſeventy-five.

Vicar of Fingringhoe, near Colcheſter, whom I have long admired for his learning, and eſteemed for his worth. Like Ruddiman, Love ſeems to have delighted in marriage, or like him, to have been driven into connubial connections, by his ſcholaſtic buſineſs, which required female ſuperintendance. And, he married, in 1741, for his ſecond wife, Giles, the youngeſt daughter of the Rev. James Elphinſton, who had died, the miniſter of Dalkeith, in 1710.

Love had ſcarcely animadverted on Trotter, when he was carried before the judicatories of the kirk, by Mr. Sydſerf, the miniſter of Dunbarton, who accuſed him of *brewing on a Sunday*, and who, after a juridical trial, was obliged to make a public apology, for having maliciouſly accuſed calumniated innocence. In October 1735, Love was appointed by the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, one of the maſters of the High School; after a fair trial of his claſſical knowledge, in competition with Mr. Findlay, the ſchoolmaſter of Muſſelburgh. He now continued his ſtudies, and extended his uſefulneſs. In 1737, he publiſhed, in concert with Robert Hunter, who was then one of the maſters of Heriot's hoſpital, and afterwards roſe to be profeſſor of Greek, in the univerſity of Edinburgh, *Buchanani Paraphraſis Pſalmorum Davidis Poetica.* (*n*) This ſplendid edition was enriched by

(*n*) This work was printed by Thomas, and Walter, Ruddimans: and the paper, the types, the accuracy, and the taſte

by many contributors. The various communications of Ruddiman contributed in no ſmall degree to its intellectual wealth. The literature, and the diligence, of Love, did not paſs unnoticed. The Duke of Buccleugh appointed him the Rector of the grammar ſchool of Dalkeith, in October 1739, on the death of Leſly. During the year 1740, he engaged in a controverſy, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnſton, (*o*) with the notorious Lauder, who, even then, was ſuſpected of ſcholaſtic forgery. The conqueſts, which Love had made over Trotter, and Lauder, probably gave him a fondneſs for controverſy. And we ſhall find, in the ſequel, that he entered into an angry conteſt with Ruddiman about Buchanan's morals; being provoked perhaps, by what he deemed contemptuous mention of his *grammatical war* with Lauder.

While Love's connection with Ruddiman was freſh, our grammarian publiſhed, in 1733, a *Diſſertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Tongue.* This is an elaborate treatiſe, which was chiefly deſigned as a confutation of the grammatical heterodoxies of John Clarke, the well-known ſchoolmaſter of Hull; who, about that time, had

taſte of it, were all worthy of Buchanan's genius and poetry.

(*o*) There was publiſhed, at Edinburgh, in September 1740, in 8vo, price 6d. *Buchanan's and Johnſton's Paraphraſe of the Pſalms compared.*

publiſhed

publiſhed a Latin grammar, in the Engliſh language, wherein he magnified hyperbolically the uſe of *literal tranſlations*. He had inculcated, diſhoneſtly, what credulity alone can believe, that an adequate knowledge of dead languages is an eaſy acquirement. And he maintained, immorally, the direct converſe of the ancient adage,—"*Omnia vincit labor.*" For theſe offences againſt the art of teaching, he was now corrected by Ruddiman with many ſtripes.

Ruddiman, mean while, proceeded, with a grammarian's method, 1ſt, to confute the objections, that had been raiſed againſt his own grammar, as being too particular; 2dly, to juſtify the common practice of teaching the Latin language, by a Latin grammar; 3dly, to criticiſe Clarke's grammar, with the acuteneſs, and knowledge, of a maſter; ſhewing incidentally the ſuperiority of Lilly's grammar to Clarke's, in fulneſs and perſpicuity; and laſtly, to explode the uſe, which his antagoniſt profeſſed to make of his literal tranſlations, by proving that his method would impoſe on the credulity of the boys, and diſappoint the hopes of the parents. Doctor Watts, however, avowed a different judgment, in his *Improvement of the Mind*. Yet, neither the efforts of Clarke, nor the diſapprobation of Watts, changed the eſtabliſhed practice of the Engliſh ſchools. Eton and Weſtminſter, Harrow and Wincheſter, have produced many a fine ſcholar, ſince Clarke

ceaſed to flatter with his novelties: this national ſervice, however, has not been accompliſhed, by fooliſh flattery, and *Engliſh tranſlations*, but by perſevering labour, and wholeſome diſcipline.

Ruddiman's reputation was now ſo high, as a Latiniſt, that when any tranſlation was to be made of public papers, he was uſually employed. In 1726, he tranſlated the Charter of the Royal Bank, from Engliſh into Latin, before the ſeals were affixed to it. By deſire of the magiſtrates of Edinburgh, he tranſlated, in 1733, from Latin into Engliſh, "The Town's Charter of Admiralty." (*p*)

By this eaſy labour, Ruddiman was never long detained from purſuing his accuſtomed occupations. In 1734, he printed, and perhaps edited, a poſthumous *Treatiſe* of his old friend, John Spottiſwoode, *Concerning the Origin and Progreſs of Fees* (*q*) [feuds.] This work was deſigned as a ſupplement to the *Introduction of Knowledge to the Stile of Conveyances*, by the ſame author. The Scots lawyers were under no ſmall obligation to profeſſor Spottiſwoode, for thus throwing

(*p*) The treaſurer of Edinburgh was ordered, on the 10th of October 1733, to pay Mr. Ruddiman a guinea, for tranſlating into Engliſh the Town's Charter of Admiralty. [The City Records of that date.]

(*q*) This treatiſe, on the tranſmiſſion of Hereditable Rights, was printed at Edinburgh, in 1734, by T. and W. Ruddimans, in 8vo. pp. 276.

into

into method what had before been looked upon as incapable of ſyſtematic form. This uſeful treatiſe was received with great applauſe, and had a rapid ſale. He was thus induced to compleat the book, which Ruddiman was now employed to print, for illuſtrating, in a methodical way, the riſe and progreſs of hereditable rights, in Scotland. Our profeſſor, however, writes much more for the inſtruction of ſtudents of the law, than for the information of men of liberal education. He, of courſe, rather treats practically, than inveſtigates hiſtorically, the doctrine of feuds. And he does not in the leaſt touch upon that curious ſubject, the introduction of the feudal ſyſtem, and the eſtabliſhment of the Anglo-Norman juriſprudence, within the ample extent of the Caledonian regions.

The prudence of Ruddiman, which was equal to his induſtry, was meantime careful to accumulate for his family what he had acquired, during ſeveral years, by his labour. He grew rich, without the loſs of character, in proportion as he extended his induſtrious occupations. By the minute account, which he made up of his affairs, on the 1ſt of October 1735, it appeared, that he was then worth 1882l. 5s. 2½d. ſterling. His opulence was at that period in a very increaſing progreſs: for, when he took an account of his riches, on the 20th of May 1736, he found his wealth

wealth had increaſed to 1985l. 6s. 3d. (r) ſterling. And it is to be recollected that, when he ſettled his debts and his credits, in 1710, he valued his worldly goods, at no more than 24l. 14s. 9d. ſterling. He had in the mean time, maintained his family, educated his children, and ſuſtained the uſual loſſes of complicated buſineſs. I have exhibited theſe ſtatements of conſiderable riches, at that period, for the benefit of thoſe, who may follow the track of Ruddiman, from dependent penury, through the paths of honeſt diligence, and careful attention, to independent opulence.

To his other qualities of prudence, of induſtry, and of attention, Ruddiman added judgment. He did not print ſplendid editions of books for the public good. He did not publiſh volumes for the peruſal of the few. But, he chiefly employed his preſs, in ſupplying Scotland with books, which, from their daily uſe, had a general ſale. And he was, by this motive, induced to furniſh country ſhop-keepers, and parochial ſchoolmaſters, with ſchool-books, at the loweſt rate. (s)

It

(r) The ſtatements in the text, I found in a folio manuſcript, containing inventories, which had been written with his own hand.

(s) From Ruddiman's MS. folio, I am enabled to gratify the reader's deſire of knowing the books, with their prices, which

It was on this principle that Ruddiman acted, when he renewed, in May 1736, the contract of the copartnerſhip, which had exiſted with his brother Walter, ſince 1729, and James Grant, for publiſhing the *Caledonian Mercury*. Of this copartnerſhip, Walter Ruddiman was the *caſhier*. And, James Grant undertook to collect the foreign, and domeſtic, intelligence, to attend the preſs, and to publiſh the paper, of which fourteen

which were in that manner ſold by our great grammarian:

	s.	*d.*	
The Rudiments, at	0	6	per copy.
The Small Grammar, both Parts, at	1	0	per copy.
Part 1ſt, at	0	6	
Part 2d, at	0	4	
Grammatical Exerciſes, at	0	6½	each.
Salluſt, common Paper	0	4	
Ovid's Metamorphoſes (Willymot)	0	6½	
Dialogi Sacri	0	6½	
Corderius (Willymot)	0	3	
C. Nepos	0	5	
Forreſt's Vocabulary	0	6	
Virgil, common Paper	0	7	
Virgil, fine Paper	0	10	
A ſmall Vocabulary	0	2	
The large Grammar, with Notes	7	0	
Cæſar's Commentaries in Sheets	1	0	
Horatij Opera, that had been printed by the late James Watſon, and purchaſed by Ruddiman			
An Engliſh New Teſtament			
A Greek New Teſtament.			

hundred

hundred were ſold every week. Thus, according to this arrangement, was the company to continue for ten years, from the 17th of April 1736, the three partners, having each an equal ſhare. (*t*) And thus, did they continue to publiſh the *Caledonian Mercury* till the 1ſt of November 1745, when Grant renounced his part; and ſacrificing his prudence to his zeal, joined the inſurgents, and finally found his ſafety in France.

The uſual prudence of Ruddiman induced him to engage in a more extraordinary meaſure, for guarding his family from future want. The teachers of the liberal arts, at Edinburgh, conſidering that, after their deaths their wives and children often fell into indigence, wiſely reſolved to employ a certain portion of their incomes, as a certain proviſion for themſelves, and for thoſe, whom it was their duty to protect. With this ſalutary deſign, Ruddiman, and the ſcholaſtic teachers, entered into a voluntary ſociety, on the 2d of February 1737, by the title of "The company "of the profeſſors and teachers of the liberal "arts and ſciences, or any branch thereof, in the "city of Edinburgh, and dependencies thereof." To the fund of this ſociety, the ſeveral copartners were to contribute equally, without preventing any individual from giving more than his proportion, yet all were to be equal ſharers of the profit, and the loſs. From this fund, the part-

(*t*) MS. contract, dated the 6th of May 1736.

ners,

ners, in caſes of neceſſity, and their families, in caſes of diſtreſs, were to be relieved. And, to inſure the faithful management of this fund, various rules were adopted. Ruddiman, who appears to have been the moſt active promoter of this prudent aſſociation, was appointed, by the original copartners, the firſt caſh-keeper. (*u*) This was probably the earlieſt ſociety, which prudence had eſtabliſhed, in Scotland, for pro-

(*u*) It may gratify the reader to be informed, who were the original copartners of this literary ſociety, for mutual help: Thomas Ruddiman, "ſometime teacher of humanity, "now keeper of the Advocates Library, and printer, in "Edinburgh." John Lees, the rector of the *High School.* Robert Spence, James Gib, John Love, and William Creech, maſters of *The High School.* Robert Hunter, teacher of Greek. *William Lauder,* John Monro, James Mundle, and William Rhind, teachers of humanity. Robert Barbar, and John Wilſon, teachers of mathematics. Gavin Drummond, and William Stevenſon, teachers of arithmetic and book-keeping. David Beatt, and Lauchlan Campbel, James Cumming, and William Grainger, writing-maſters. John Coupere, James Freebairn, William Ker, John Murdoch, teachers of French. Laurence Barns, James Deuar, John Johnſton, Archibald Keith, Charles Lawrence, Thomas Mabene, John Warden, William Webder, William Wylie, and John Wylie, teachers of Engliſh. William Fidlar, formerly teacher of humanity, but now one of the clerks of the exchequer. Robert Smith, teacher of the municipal law, and procurator in Edinburgh. Hugh Millar, maſter of the grammar ſchool; and Richard Hodge, writing-maſter, in Leith. [See *the Articles of Agreement,* which were printed by Thomas, and Walter, Ruddimans, in 1739, 8vo.]

tecting

tecting the families of literary men. In 1742, a ſcheme was propoſed, upon more ſcientific principles, "to provide for the widows and orphans of the miniſters of the church of Scotland." In this ſcheme, the profeſſors of the univerſities were comprehended, at their own deſire. And this project, being matured by inquiry, and ſettled by judgment, was, in 1744, eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, (*x*) and has anſwered, in the varieties of practice, beyond the expectations of theory.

While Ruddiman wiſely took care of his own affairs, and thereby ſheltered his own family, he was not inattentive to the intereſts of his literary friends. He readily lent his hand to Wilkins, when he was compiling the great work of the *Concilia*, which was publiſhed in 1737: And, for that compilation, he copied the *Canons of the Church of Scotland*, which were drawn up, in the provincial councils, that were held at Perth, during the years 1242, and 1269. (*y*) Wilkins

(*x*) 17 Geo. II. ch. 11. and the ſupplementary act of the 22 Geo. II. ch. 21.

(*y*) Sir David Dalrymple, the late Lord Hailes, remarks, in his very curious tract, entitled, *Canons of the Church of Scotland*, which was printed in 1769, "That the learned, and "induſtrious, Mr. Thomas Ruddiman tranſcribed theſe Ca"nons from the Chartulary of Aberdeen, and communi"cated them to Dr. Wilkins, who publiſhed them in the firſt "volume of the *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ*." [See page 1.]

mentions, in his preface, this meritorious ſervice, with thankful recollection. Ruddiman gave his aſſiſtance, in 1738, to a perſon, who was much leſs worthy of his aid. It was William Lauder, a man, whoſe origin I have been unable to trace, and whoſe knowledge of languages was derived from the univerſity of Edinburgh. He appears to have entered the world, with only his literature to ſupport him. And, in that city, where ancient reſtraints on teaching began to be relaxed, he taught the Latin language, in his private ſchool, and in the univerſity claſſes, with acknowledged approbation.

Lauder had ſcarcely left the college, when he met with an accident, which disfigured his perſon ever after. Being one day on *Bruntsfield Links*, near Edinburgh, to ſee the golfers at their play, the ball unluckily ſtruck him on the knee, which feſtering from careleſs inattention, it became neceſſary to amputate the leg. This misfortune, however, did not much retard his ſtudies, nor in the leaſt prevent his teaching. In 1734, Mr. profeſſor Watt, falling ill of that ſickneſs, of which he died, Lauder taught for him the Latin claſs, in the college of Edinburgh, and tried, without ſucceſs, to ſucceed him, in the profeſſorſhip. On this diſappointment, he ſolicited, with as little luck, the inferior office of library-keeper in that univerſity. His diſappointments did not improve his temper; and his temper contributed to

his

his diſappointments. In February 1739, he ſtood candidate, with eight competitors, for the place of one of the maſters of the High School, upon the death of Mr. William Creech. But, though the palm of literature was aſſigned by the judges to Lauder, the patrons of the ſchool preferred one of his opponents.

It was in 1738, that in order to advance his fortune, if not to elevate his fame, Lauder gave out propoſals for printing by ſubſcription a *Collection of Sacred Poems*, with the *Aſſiſtance of profeſſor Robert Steuart, profeſſor John Ker, and Mr. Thomas Ruddiman.* (*z*) What help he had from the two profeſſors I pretend not to know. From Ruddiman, he had ſeveral notes, and three poems. The firſt is the Elegy on Pitcairne, which has been already mentioned, as an effuſion of gratitude; (*a*) the ſecond is addreſſed to Pitcairne, in which, with happineſs of thought, and elegance of language, he praiſes the Latin poetry of Johnſton; (*b*) the third is an encomiaſtic elegy on William Hog, who wrote the *Poetical Paraphraſe on Job*, (*c*) which was now reprinted by Lauder. Theſe poems of Ruddiman have more

(*z*) From the printed propoſals, which were ſigned with Lauder's hand.

(*a*) 2 Vol. p. xxi. of Lauder's Collection.

(*b*) 2 Vol. p. xxiii.

(*c*) 1 Vol. p. vii. This poem has only the initials T. R. prefixed to it.

correctneſs than fancy, and more depth of learning, than felicities of expreſſion. Of his own poetical effuſions, Ruddiman has, indeed, ſpoken with his uſual humility: (*c*) "In my younger "years, I could make a ſhift to compoſe a copy "of *Elegiac* verſes: But when I eſſayed to do "any thing in the *Sapphick*, *Alcaick*, or *Choriam-* "*bick*, kind, I found my genius not equal to it; "and therefore wiſely gave it over." Ruddiman wrote ſome lines on Ovid, which Sir David Dalrymple mentions with approbation; but which, after all my inquiries, I have never ſeen.

The collections of Lauder at length appeared in two volumes, in place of one, and in 1739, inſtead of 1738; but without any liſt of ſubſcribers. (*d*) The general aſſembly of the Kirk of Scotland recommended, in November 1740, the Paraphraſe of Johnſton, to be taught in the lower claſſes of the ſchools. Yet, Lauder's hopes of an annual income, from this ſplendid publication, were never gratified; for, he had allowed expectation to outrun probability. He had en-

(*c*) Vindication of Buchanan, p. 169.

(*d*) This work of Lauder was printed by Thomas and Walter Rudimans, in 1739, with the title, *Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ*, &c. This book is printed in an elegant manner, and in an octavo ſize; and it is ornamented with a head of Arthur Johnſton, which was engraved by R. Cooper, from a painting of Jamieſon.

gaged

gaged too in a controverſy, in 1740, about the comparative merits of Buchanan and Johnſton, which, like other warfare, left ſcars to be lamented, even after the wounds had been healed. (*e*)

He lingered on at Edinburgh, till 1742, when hopes were raiſed, of being appointed the rector of the ſame ſchool, at Dundee, to which Ruddiman had been invited, in 1710. He was at length driven, by his diſappointments, from Edinburgh to London, in an unlucky hour for his own character, and livelihood. Here, his folly, working on his neceſſities, induced him to detract from the fame of Milton, by publiſhing forgeries, which were detected, in 1751, with great diligence, by Doctor Douglas, the preſent Biſhop of Saliſbury. (*f*)

The

(*e*) On that ſubject, there was publiſhed, in July 1740, "*A Letter to a Gentleman in Edinburgh*," price 6d. In anſwer to this, appeared, in July 1740, *Calumny Diſplayed*, by Lauder, part 1ſt, price 8d; and in Auguſt 1741, *Calumny Diſplayed*, parts 2d and 3d, price 1s. This ſcholaſtic conteſt was called, at Edinburgh, *Bellum Grammaticale*.

(*f*) Lauder's ignorance of the poetry of his country diſabled him from charging Milton with plagiariſm, at the expence of leſs criminality. He might have ſhown, that old Sir Richard Maitland, who was alſo blind, wrote a poem, "On the Creation, and PARADYCE LOST," before Milton was born. This poem, which it is curious to recollect, from

The public indignation at length forced Lauder to look for refuge, and ſubſiſtence, in Barbadoes, where he died in poverty, and neglect, about the year 1771.—Lauder was a perſon about five feet ſeven inches high, who had a ſallow complexion, large rolling fiery eyes, a ſtentorian voice, and a ſanguine temper. (*g*)

Meantime Ruddiman, whoſe connection ceaſed with Lauder, when Lauder ceaſed to be honeſt, (*b*) contributed greater aid to more worthy

the coincidence of the *title*, was firſt publiſhed, in 1724, by Ramſay, in his *Evergreen*. The worthy Sir Richard died, in 1586, at the age of *ninety*. Here is the concluding ſtanza of his *Paradyce Loſt*:

" Behald the ſtate that man was in,
" And als how it he tynt throw ſin,
" And loſt the ſame for ay;
" Yet, God his promiſe dois perform,
" Sent his Son of the Virgin born,
" Our ranſome deir to pay.
" To that great God let us give glore,
" To us has been ſae gude,
" Quha by his grace did us reſtore,
" Quhereof we were denude."

(*g*) See a pamphlet, which was publiſhed, at London, for H. Carpenter, in Fleet Street, about the year 1754, entitled, " Furius: or a Modeſt Attempt towards a Hiſtory of the " Life and ſurpriſing Exploits of the famous W. L. Critic " and Thief-catcher."

(*b*) In a manuſcript note on *Furius*, Ruddiman ſays, " I " was ſo ſenſible of the weakneſs and folly of that man, " [Lauder] that I ſhunned his company, as far as decently I " could."

worthy characters. It was, in 1737, when he was upon a viſit at London, that Ruddiman engaged to edite the *Diplomata et Numiſmata Scotiæ*, which James Anderſon had undertaken, in 1707, by the command of the parliament of Scotland.

James Anderſon was the ſon of the Reverend Patrick Anderſon, who was ſo zealous *for modes of faith*, that he ſuffered ejection from his church, at the epoch of the Reſtoration, and kept a conventicle, at Edinburgh, during the reign of Charles II. He was for this delinquency impriſoned in the Baſs. His ſon James was meantime born, on the 5th of Auguſt 1662. He finiſhed his ſcholaſtic education at the univerſity of Edinburgh, wherein he obtained the Maſter of Arts degree, on the 27th of May 1680. (*i*) He now choſe the law for his profeſſion. And, having ſerved an apprenticeſhip with Sir Hugh

" could." Thus Ruddiman, when on the verge of eighty, was diligent to vindicate himſelf from the imputations of the unfair ſcribbler of *Furius*, who tried, by propagating miſrepreſentations, to involve Ruddiman in the diſgrace of Lauder.

(*i*) It appears from the regiſters of the univerſity of Edinburgh, that James Anderſon was a ſtudent under Mr. William Paterſon, the profeſſor of philoſophy, in 1677, and took his degree, in the claſs of Mr. James Wiſhart, on the 27th of May 1680. For the ſearch, by which theſe dates were diſcovered, I owe a kindneſs to Mr. profeſſor Dalzel, the intelligent and obliging keeper of the regiſters.

Paterſon of Bannockburn, a writer to the ſignet of great eminence, he was admitted a member of Sir Hugh's Society, on the 6th of June 1691. As he was by nature active, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, that he worked diligently, as a writer, though without acquiring perhaps much wealth, becauſe he ſoon diverged from his proper avocations to leſs gainful labour.

Anderſon firſt appeared before the public, in 1705. He, at that epoch, publiſhed *An Hiſtorical Eſſay; ſhewing that the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland is* [are] *imperial and independent.* (*k*) He eaſily confuted the miſtakes of Drake, (*l*) and the miſrepreſentations of Atwood, (*m*) who, when the treaty of union was in contemplation, endeavoured, without prudence, or utility, or truth, to prove the dependence of the kingdom of Scotland. For this national ſervice, which was doubtleſs of importance, at that period, Anderſon received parliamentary acknowledgments. The ancient charters in his appendix are, however, of

(*k*) This eſſay was printed by the heirs and ſucceſſors of Andrew Anderſon, at Edinburgh, 1705, 8vo.

(*l*) In his *Hiſtoria Anglo-Scotia*, which was printed at London, in 1703; and which was ordered by the parliament of Scotland, on the 30th of June 1703, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

(*m*) In his *Superiority of the Crown of England over the Crown of Scotland*, which was printed at London, in 1704; and was alſo ordered by the parliament of Scotland, in 1706, to be burnt by the common hangman.

much

much more value, at preſent, than his book, which contains leſs, either to inform the inquiſitive, or to gratify the curious.

Anderſon had by this publication evinced, that he had knowledge of charters, and ardour of inquiry. And the ſame parliament, which had thanked him for the patriotic uſe, that he had lately made of both, adopted with equal alacrity his propoſal, for engraving, and publiſhing, the ancient charters, and great ſeals of Scotland. In November 1706, the parliament gave him three hundred pounds, as a mark at once of their approbation, and as a contribution to his expence. He was enabled by theſe encouragements to make great progreſs in his arduous work. Before March 1707, he not only expended the three hundred pounds, which had been granted by parliament, but alſo five hundred and ninety pounds ſterling, that he had drawn from his own funds. A committee reported the facts; and the parliament, while they approved of his conduct, voted him an additional contribution of one thouſand and fifty pounds ſterling; and recommended him to the Queen "as a perſon, meriting her gracious fa-"vour." One of the laſt acts of the union-parliament was "a recommendation in favour of "Mr. James Anderſon."

During this moment of encouragement, Anderſon thought his fortune, and his fame, eſtabliſhed for ever. He had ſo little prudence, as to

to relinquiſh his profeſſion, that he might dedicate his unembarraſſed labours to the public. The money, which had thus been voted with alacrity, is ſaid, on I know not what authority, to have been never paid; except indeed we may ſuppoſe, that the reſolution of a diſſolved parliament has not greater efficacy, than the teſtament of a deceaſed King. Whether he were honoured with an appointment by the Queen is unknown. He was certainly appointed poſtmaſter general for Scotland, on the 24th of June 1715: but, he was ſuperſeded, on the 29th of November 1717, for ſome cauſe, which does not appear, by Sir John Inglis of Cramond, who was, in his turn, diſcharged, ſoon after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, in 1746, though he was "a hearty whig." Whether Anderſon, when he was ſuperſeded as poſtmaſter, was appointed a commiſſioner of the ſignet, cannot now be aſcertained. He had doubtleſs lived, like other men of greater conſequence, to feel the inſtability of public employment, during the ſucceſſion of princes, and amidſt the competitions of party. When he ceaſed to be the poſtmaſter general, he gave out propoſals for publiſhing his *Diplomata*. (*n*)

In

(*n*) In Watſon's *Scots Courant*, of the 25th of February 1718, there appeared the following advertiſement:

"Propoſals being printed for publiſhing a book, which "will conſiſt of above one hundred copper-plates, contain-

"ing

In the mean time, Anderſon was led, either by the bigotry, which he inherited from his father, or by the buſtle, that he had acquired from habit, to join the aſſociated critics, who had formed a confederacy againſt Ruddiman, and his labours. He was now induced to contribute ſuch aſſiſtance, as a man of no vigorous intellect, and a ſcholar of no extenſive erudition, could give. The confederacy was ſoon after alarmed, by the appearance of JEBB's *Vita et Rebus Geſtis Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ*, which were publiſhed at London, in 1725, with circumſtances of ſplendour, and notes of applauſe. The confederacy was mortified to ſee two folio volumes, which repreſented Mary, and her cauſe, in a favourable light; and which were nevertheleſs received kindly by the learned, and the great, in England. In this diſtreſs, the confederacy ſummoned Anderſon to give a counter-publication. His prejudice made him willingly obey the call upon his induſtry. And he came out into the world, in 1727, and 1728, with four volumes of

" ing the ancient charters and ſeals of the Kings of Scotland,
" and the alphabets and abbreviations made uſe of in ancient
" writings, collected, purſuant to an order of the parliament
" of Scotland, by Mr. Anderſon, writer to the ſignet. Any
" who incourage that book, may have copies of the propo-
" ſals at Mr. Anderſon's houſe, above the general poſt-
" office in Edinburgh, and may alſo ſee ſpecimens of the
" work at any time between the hours of two and five in
" the afternoon."

Collections relating to the Hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scotland. (*o*) Whether he lived to hear the cenſures of the critics, or to ſee the frowns of the public, is uncertain. He died at London of an apoplexy, on the 2d of April 1728, at the age of ſixty-ſix. (*p*)

It ſoon appeared that, in this publication, he had no fairneſs of principle, nor accuracy of performance, though he talked of candour and impartiality. Under the ſhow of attachment to truth, he acted with enmity to Mary: yet, contrary to the deſign of the confederacy, and in oppoſition to his own purpoſe, his voluminous publication is, at the preſent hour, ſupporting the intereſts of truth, and vindicating the honour of the Queen. His *Collections* were ſoon ſold at

(*o*) Two volumes, in quarto, were printed by Moſman and Brown, at Edinburgh, in 1727. In the ſame year, the third volume was printed by MR. THOMAS RUDDIMAN. And the fourth volume was printed, at London, by James Bettenham, in 1728. That ſuch an antiquary, as Anderſon is repreſented to have been, ſhould entitle Mary, Queen of *Scotland*, is aſtoniſhing, when the charters and ſeals of his own *Diplomata* would have ſhewn him, that ſhe was *Scotorum Regina*, as her predeceſſors had been *Scotorum Reges*. Ruddiman, with his uſual acuteneſs remarks, That it is a ſure indication of forgery, when an old charter ſpeaks of the King as *Scotiæ Rex*.

(*p*) There is a ſketch of the life of James Anderſon, which ſeems to have been drawn up ſoon after his death, in the Britiſh Muſeum, MSS. Birch, N° 4221.

the

the eſtabliſhed price of waſte paper. The public ſpirit of the Duke of Devonſhire procured him admiſſion to the paper-office; whence he drew ſome documents, that loſt their efficacy from ſuſpicions of his candour. As I lately followed his track, through that great depoſitory of ſtate memorials, it appeared plainly to me, from a compariſon of his publication with the papers, that Anderſon had neither any true reſearch, nor any real ingenuouſneſs.

By repeating, in 1727, the ſame folly, of which he had been guilty, in 1707, Anderſon ſhewed to the eye of diſcernment an egregious want of judgment. At both thoſe periods, he ſacrificed his private intereſt to what he idly deemed the public ſervice, though he had a family, which had the firſt claim to his attention. He wandered out of the honourable path, in which the munificence of the parliament had placed him, in order to degrade one of the Sovereigns, to whom his patrons wiſhed to do honour. And he publiſhed, on his own account, a book of great expence, without any reaſonable hope of profit, while he was oppreſſed by the penury, which had gradually fallen upon him, from ill-directed projects. He married in his youth a daughter of John Ellis of Elliſton, an advocate at Edinburgh, by whom he had ſeveral ſons, who

who ſurvived him, (*q*) yet did not continue his race.

In the progreſs of his folly, and in the depth of his diſtreſs, Anderſon pledged his ancient charters, and his copper-plates, to Thomas Paterſon of Conduit Street, London, a friend, who had patronized his labours, and relieved his needs. (*r*) As early as March 1707, much of this diplomatic work was finiſhed: yet, in April 1728, much more remained to be done. Paterſon, who, we may ſuppoſe, was a gentleman, from his being called *eſquire*, found the ancient charters, and the copper-plates, a very unproductive eſtate.—And, meeting with Ruddiman, in London, during the year 1737, he aſked that learned and induſtrious ſcholar to finiſh what Anderſon, with leſs diligence and erudition, had begun.

The antiquary world was at length gratified, in 1739, by the publication of *Selectus Diplomatum et Numiſmatum Scotiæ Theſaurus*, (*s*) which the

(*q*) His wife alſo brought him a daughter, Margaret, who married George Crawford, the author of *The Peerage*, and of *The Hiſtory of Renfrew*. [Semple's Renfrew, p. 83.]

(*r*) The *plates* of the *Diplomata* were ſold, in December 1729, by auction, for £. 530. [Gough's Top. vol. 2. p. 571; which quotes the minutes of the Antiquary Society for *the fact*.]

(*s*) It was printed, in one large folio volume, by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for Thomas Paterſon, in Conduit Street,

the *Acta Lipſienſia* juſtly deſcribed as, *Opus ſumme magnificum et vere regium.* Such was the modeſty, and diſintereſtedneſs, of Ruddiman, that he allowed Patrick Anderſon, who was the ſon of James, and comptroller of the ſtamps at Edinburgh, to dedicate this magnificent work to George II. with hopes, which were never gratified.

Inquiry will eaſily find, that Ruddiman performed more at the age of ſixty-four, in one twelvemonth, than Anderſon had done, during the vigour of his life, in twenty years. To Ruddiman muſt be aſſigned the elaborate preface; the valuable chronology of the Scottiſh Kings, from Malcolm III. to George II.; the index to the contents, with diſquiſitive notes; the index to the names, with illuſtrative obſervations; the index and explanation of the places, which are mentioned in the *Diplomata.* To Anderſon, we owe what is more curious, though leſs inſtructive, the charters, which are finely engraved, by the beſt artiſts, both in the ancient and modern writing, with the great ſeals; and the characters and abbreviations, which are found in ancient manuſcripts. Theſe are the contents of the firſt part of this ſplendid publication; the ſecond part contains the *Numiſmata*, being engravings of the

ſtreet, Andrew Millar, in the Strand, and Gawin Hamilton at Edinburgh.—At whatever price this work may have originally ſold, it now ſells for more than eight guineas.

coins

coins of Scotland, both gold and ſilver, from the reign of Alexander I. to which is ſubjoined the *royal medals*. It is apparent, that it required not twenty years to collect, arrange, and engrave the *Diplomata et Numiſmata Scotiæ*, though the engravers be entitled to more praiſe than the collector.

It was in 1738, that Ruddiman wrote his *preface* to the *Diplomata*, which, of all his works, exhibits the wideſt extent of knowledge, and affords the hiſtorical reader the greateſt variety of information: (*t*) Of the *Preface*, a ſtory is ſtill remembered, which ſhews that,—

"Interdum miſcentur triſtia lætis."

The aged grammarian was wont to retire, during ſummer, from his houſe in town, to a lodging in the country. He retired from the parliament Square to Heriot's bridge, within the city of Edinburgh; thus making his excurſion, from the fogs in the Strand, to the air of Piccadilly. In removing his papers, and his books, from the country, to the town, he loſt his *copy*. He ſearched every where; yet could find it no where. He gave way to more deſpair than became a

(*t*) There was printed at Edinburgh, in 1773, for Charles Heriot, *An Introduction to Mr. James Anderſon's Diplomata Scotiæ: to which* is [are] added notes, by Thomas Ruddiman, M.A. I know not who made this inadequate tranſlation of Ruddiman's excellent Preface.

wiſe

wiſe man. But, what care ſometimes miſſes, chance often finds. The manuſcript of the *preface* was at length diſcovered in his garret, whither it had been ſent, in the provident package of an old caſk.

" Gaudia poſt luctus veniunt, poſt gaudia luctus."

The *Preface* of Ruddiman may be conſidered as a commentary on the work of Anderſon; telling what he ought to have told; and explaining what he ought to have explained. In purſuing the courſe of the original, the prefacer treats, 1ſt, of *The Charters*; and 2dly, of *The Coins*. The original deſign of Anderſon comprehended only the *Diplomata:* but, as he extended his views over the whole range of his object, he was induced, partly from fondneſs of his ſubject, but more from zeal of patriotiſm, to add the *Numiſmata*.

The charters, which Anderſon has exhibited with ſuch ſplendour, and accuracy, extend in their dates, from the year 1094 to 1412: he did not publiſh more ancient charters; becauſe older he could not find: he did not publiſh more recent charters, except indeed the charter, wherein Francis and Mary ſtyled themſelves, in an unpropitious hour, King and Queen of England; becauſe, from the epoch of 1412, he had obſerved the general character of writing to continue nearly the ſame. In order to gain for his country all the honour, which can be obtained from the earlier, or the later,

uſe of charters, Anderſon publiſhed a charter of Duncan, that ſtands the firſt in his ſeries, though there be engraven on its front the manifeſt characters of forgery: for, Duncan herein ſtyles himſelf, *filius Regis* Malcolumb *conſtans hereditarie Rex Scotie:* now, the *Conſtans Hereditarie*, and the *Rex Scotie*, are two circumſtances, which are repugnant to the uſage of the times, and are inconſiſtent with the invariable titles of the Scottiſh Kings. (*u*) By theſe objections, were doubts raiſed in the mind of Ruddiman, who was yet willing to aſſent to the authenticity of Duncan's charter; becauſe it carries the uſe of diplomas in Scotland one ſtep farther into the regions of antiquity. It is to be lamented, that ſuch a judgment as Ruddiman's ſhould have been ſomewhat, perverted on this occaſion, by the love of his country, a noble paſſion indeed, which, however, ought not to enter into competition with the more ſacred love of truth.

(*u*) The following paſſage from the Chronicle of Mailros, in Gale, vol. 1. p. 158, diſcovers the mint, whence that coinage ſeems to have proceeded: "Malcolmus filius Dune-"cam ſuſcepit *regnum Scotiæ jure hæreditario.*" [A.D. 1056.] The ſeal, which is appended to this charter of Duncan, is an additional proof of its forgery: for, it appears to be a *counterſeal*, before the uſe of *counterſeals* was introduced, into Scotland, by Alexander I. who ſucceeded his brother Edgar in 1107. [See *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. 4. p. 214.]

He

He acknowledges, that there no where exiſts any genuine charter of Malcolm III. the putative father of Duncan: yet, he labours to prove, that the uſe of charters had been introduced into Scotland, at a much earlier epoch. There may have exiſted *grants* though *charters* did not. He admits the exiſtence of "the ancient league, be-"tween Charles, the Great, and our King "Achaius," which had been formerly exploded by Rymer, (*x*) and has been recently ridiculed by Sir David Dalrymple. (*y*) Ruddiman exerts his reſearch, and diſplays his learning; but he neither enforces conviction, nor obtains acquieſcence. By inquiry, I have been led to believe, that every written document, which pretends to be a Scottiſh charter of a more ancient date, than the acceſſion of Edgar, in 1097, is a forgery; and that the league of Achaius is a fiction. (*z*)

Yet, it is ſeldom that Ruddiman labours in vain. From an elaborate, yet fruitleſs, inquiry,

(*x*) In his ſecond letter to Biſhop Nicholſon, containing, "An Hiſtorical Deduction of the Alliances between "France and Scotland; whereby the pretended *Old League* "with Charlemaigne is diſproved and the true Old League "[1371] is produced and aſſerted." London, printed without the year, for T. Hodgſon.

(*y*) Remarks on the Hiſtory of Scotland, 1773, p. 1.

(*z*) See Schoepflini Commentationes, p. 392, ſh. 3. De Scoto-Hibernia.

into the origin of diplomas, in Scotland, he proceeds to explain the riſe of charters, in general, and the nature of Anderſon's, in particular. He extends the meaning of the word *diplomata* to every document, by which the tranſactions of mankind are eſtabliſhed. The primary uſe of charters is ſaid to conſiſt, in ſecuring the private fortunes of individuals, and in eſtabliſhing the public rights of nations. The *ſecondary* uſe of diplomas ariſes from the circumſtance of their being the beſt evidence of hiſtorical narration.

Ruddiman is thus led to exemplify how the miſtakes in the hiſtory of Scotland have been rectified by the help of charters. His examples are: The memorable competition for the crown of Scotland, about the year 1291, the accounts of which, having been miſrepreſented by hiſtory, were rectified by the documents, that were publiſhed by Rymer; and which evince, as Ruddiman remarks, that Robert Bruce was the firſt of the competitors, who acknowledged Scotland to be a fief of England. His ſecond example is the well known imputation of Scottiſh hiſtorians, who attempted, with more malice, than ſucceſs, to fix the ſtain of baſtardy on Robert III. If there were not other evidences, he engaged to prove from one of Anderſon's charters, the falſity of this tale, and the readineſs, with which annaliſts relate falſehood, diſregardful of truth, and careleſs of character.

character. And Ruddiman produces for a third example, the documents of Rymer, at once to illuſtrate that dark tranſaction, the death of James III. to exhibit the malevolence of faction, and to chaſtiſe the fictions of hiſtory.

From the uſe, the tranſition is eaſy to the abuſe of charters. Ruddiman proceeds, with his uſual learning and accuracy, to eſtabliſh rules for diſtinguiſhing, the genuine from the forged, diplomas. The more general methods of detecting forgery, he ſhews to be, either the agreement of the letters, in form and character, with the acknowledged alphabet of the particular period; or the conſiſtency of the date with true chronology; or the congruity of the forms and expreſſions with the juriſprudence and manners of the age. The more particular modes of detecting the fraudulence of deeds, he ſtates to be an accurate examination of the ſpecial circumſtances of each; its conſiſtence with itſelf, the kind of paper, on which it is written; and the ſtamps that are impreſſed on it, if it be of modern date. He illuſtrates theſe rules, according to his practice, by examples. The ſuppoſititious diploma of Malcolm III. the fictitious charter of Edgar, and the ſeveral forgeries of John Harding, he proves, by the foregoing rules, to be undoubted fabrications, in oppoſition to Atwood; who having been the chief juſtice of New-York, during King William's reign, and diſplaced for malverſation,

wrote factiouſly the well known tract, which was burnt, as we have ſeen, in Scotland, by the common hangman.

From the firſt part of the *Diplomata* Ruddiman proceeded, in regular order, to the ſecond, which treats of *Seals*. After all that has been written on this curious ſubject by Hoppingius, Mabillon, and Heinneccius, our prefacer traces with ſome novelty, and abundant erudition, the origin of the uſe, and the cauſes of the falſification, of ſeals.

From the diſcuſſion of theſe topicks, which at once gratifies curioſity, and conveys inſtruction, Ruddiman proceeds to comment on Anderſon's *Numiſmata*. Our editor now treats, with great modeſty, and much knowledge, of the *coinage among the Scots*. His elaborate inveſtigations comprehend the origin, and antiquity, of coins; their figure and ſize; the metals of which they were compoſed, whether gold, ſilver, or copper; their agreement, either as to fabrication, or value, with the coins of England; and the various loſſes, which were ſuſtained by the public, and by individuals, from the ſucceſſive debaſement of the coinage. To theſe various topicks, he has added *Tables*, in which is ſhewn how much money of account was coined out of a pound of gold, or ſilver, from 1371 to 1738. To theſe, he has ſubjoined a table, wherein the uſual prices of the neceſſaries of life, in ancient times, are reduced to their modern value. Hiſtory

tory may derive from Ruddiman's preface much of that inſtructive information, which chiefly ſtamps a value upon hiſtorical narratives. (*a*)

In proportion as there was little cauſe for apology, he was ſtudious to apologize, when he drew near to the cloſe. His courſe lay chiefly through an untrodden path; and if he ſtumbled, or fell, he wiſhed the reader to attribute his miſtake, or his misfortune, to the difficulty of the road, rather than to his want of care, or of effort. Of his ſtile, he was careful to be more perſpicuous, than elegant; to ſacrifice ornament to uſe, to ſtudy the convenience of the reader, more than his amuſement. With regard to the language of didactic writing, he declared his concurrence with the poet:

" Ornari res ipſa negat, contenta doceri:
" Et ſi qua externâ referentur nomina linguâ,
" Hoc operis, non vatis erit. Non omnia flecti
" Poſſunt, et propria meliùs ſub voce notantur."

After this great performance, Ruddiman ceaſed for a while from his labours, at the age of ſixty-five. The *Diplomata*, which added more

(*a*) Walter Goodal told the late Sir David Dalrymple, as he informed me, that Goodal furniſhed the materials for Ruddiman's preface: " But," ſays Sir David, " as I never " found Walter ſober, I ſuſpect, that he exaggerated a little. " Goodal from his converſation appeared to me envious of " Ruddiman's fame; and affected to call him *Maſter Thomas* " with a ſort of ſneer."

to his renown, than to his fortune, was the laſt book of any magnitude, which his diligence edited. Having now eſtabliſhed his own fame, he turned his thoughts to the introduction of his ſon into life. With this deſign, he reſigned, on the 13th of Auguſt 1739, his half of the printing buſineſs to his ſon Thomas, by his ſecond wife, who was now twenty-five years old, and had been liberally educated; and who had beſides been diligently inſtructed in this ingenious art. Our grammarian, however, allowed his name to continue in the *firm* of the company, in order to give credit to the *houſe*. (*b*) He, moreover, lent his ſon,

(*b*) This will appear from the ſubjoined liſt of books, printed for and by T. W. and T. Ruddimans, and ſold at their printing-houſe, in the Parliament-Cloſe, Edinburgh.

The Whole Duty of Man, fine paper, price 3 s. bound.—N. B. This is the correcteſt and moſt beautiful edition of the book.

Ditto, common paper, 2 s. bound.

A Diſcourſe on Pſalm xi. 7. "*For the Righteous Lord loveth Righteouſneſs.*" By the eminently pious and learned John Scott, D. D. with a preface by *Thomas Ruddiman*, M. A. very proper to be peruſed in theſe giddy times, wherein the ſeveral parties among us are ſo much divided in their ſentiments concerning the nature and eſſence of true religion.—price 6 d.

Ruddimanni Grammaticæ Latinæ Inſtitutiones, cum ejuſdem notis & animadverſionibus, 2 vol. 8vo.

Eædem, ſine notis, in 8vo.

Rudiments of the Latin Tongue, in 8vo. 10 d. bound.

Ditto,

ſon, on his introduction to buſineſs, two hundred and fifty pounds, ſterling, as an additional aid. That reſignation, and this loan, muſt be allowed to have been a handſome proviſion for his ſon, at that epoch; conſidering the ſcarcity of wealth,

Ditto, fine paper, 1 s. 6d. bound.

Grammatical Exerciſes; or an Exemplification of the ſeveral Moods and Tenſes, and principal Rules of Conſtruction, in 12mo.

P. Virgilii Bucolica, Georgica, & Æneis, ad optimorum exemplarium fidem recenſita, in 18°.

C. Julii Cæſaris, nec non A. Hirtii aliorumque commentarii, ex optima atque accuratiſſima. Fr. Oudendorpii editione expreſſi in 12mo.

Salluſtius, juxta accuratiſſimam Cortii editionem, 12mo.

C. Nepotis excellentium Imperatorum vitæ, ad nuperas editiones diligenter repurgata, in 12mo.

Decerpta ex Ovidii Metamorphoſeôn libris, notis Anglicis illuſtrata à Gul. Willymotto, &c. 12mo.

Q. Horatii Flacci opera omnia, cum novis argumentis. Edinb. ex officina Jac. Watſon, 1713, in 12mo.

Seb. Caſtalionis Dialogi Sacri, adoptimas editiones ſummo ſtudio recogniti, cum notis Anglicis, in 12mo.

Selecta Colloquiorum Corderii Maturini centuria, notis Anglicis adſperſa à Gul. Willymotto, in 12mo.

Forreſt's Engliſh and Latin Vocabulary, in 12mo.

Paterſon's Vocabulary, Latin and Engliſh, in 12mo.

Drummond's Geography, third edition, with additions, in 8vo.

New Teſtaments, good paper, and beautifully printed, price 10d.

Colvill's Whigg's Supplication, in 8vo. printed by Ja. Watſon.

Polemo-Middinia, price 1 d.

and

and the facility of ſubſiſtence. By the inventory, which Ruddiman made of his effects, on that occaſion, he valued his whole eſtate at 2259l. 19s. $10\frac{1}{3}$d. ſterling.

It was in 1739, that he purchaſed of David Rutherford, the Advocate, for three hundred pounds ſterling, the houſe, wherein from this time he lived, in the Parliament Square, amidſt the bookſellers, and in the neighbourhood of the Advocates Library. He had now better opportunities of gratifying his paſſion for cheſs. He uſed often to ſtep into the ſhop of Alexander Symmers, the bookſeller, in that ſquare, to play at this faſcinating game. They did not play for money; but, being both pertinacious players, they generally parted in a wrangle.

Amid his amuſements, and his buſineſs, he never neglected the intereſt of letters, even at the age of ſixty-ſix. He was always ready to give his help, when his help was aſked; "thinking "it the duty of every well-wiſher to learning to "contribute, without any mean views, all that "he is able to literary works." In this noble ſpirit it was, that when Fletcher Gyles, the bookſeller, in Holborn, undertook to publiſh Secretary Thurloe's ſtate papers, Ruddiman contributed his aſſiſtance, in July 1740. (c)

The

(c) The following letter, from Mr. Thomas Ruddiman to Mr. Fletcher Gyles, which was found among Dr. Birch's papers,

The principal part of this voluminous collection was diſcovered, during King William's reign, in

papers, No. 4317, in the Britiſh Muſeum, is ſubmitted to the reader; becauſe it characteriſes the grammarian, and the bookſeller, and it illuſtrates the literary manners of the age.

Worthy Sir,

I had the favour of your's the 5th inſtant, and would have returned an anſwer ſooner, but that I waited the occaſion of my good friend and your's Mr. Davidſon's going off to your city. I am glad that all the papers are come ſafe to your hands; and though the ſeveral parcels were not kept in regular order, yet at laſt you have the whole complete. Diſcourſing with ſome gentlemen of good taſte on the ſubject, I was adviſed, that there were ſome very curious letters that had paſſed betwixt O. Cromwell and the Laird of Dundaſs, then governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh, in the name of ſeveral miniſters who had retired to that caſtle, after the battle of Dunbar, in the year 1650. Theſe letters were printed at that time in a ſmall 4to. pamphlet; but as that pamphlet is extremely rare, and the letters are very ſingular in their kind, and eſpecially for the fanatical cant that appears on both ſides, in which, Cromwell, in my opinion, defeats the other party with their own weapons, they are judged not unworthy of a place in your Collections: I have therefore cauſed tranſcribe them for you, and ſhall G. W. tranſmit them a poſt or two hence. All the other papers I had from the records of Scotland, which are kept here in what we call the laigh parliament houſe, *i. e.* the lower part of the parliament houſe.

As to that part of your's, wherein you are pleaſed to mention your deſign of beſtowing on me a copy of your work, when finiſhed, for the pains I have been at in collating the papers that were found here fit for your purpoſe, as I cannot but thank you for your generous offer, ſo you will excuſe

me

in a falſe ceiling of a garret, in Lincoln's Inn, by a clergyman, who had borrowed of Tomlinſon, what had once been Thurloe's chambers. The Lord

me to declare, that I will by no means accept it. For beſides the diſproportion that is between the reward and my ſmall ſervice, I think it the duty of every well-wiſher to learning, to contribute (without any ſuch mean views) all that he is able to public undertakings of that kind, eſpecially ſuch as this, which muſt without any ſuch addition, be otherwiſe very expenſive.—Nay I am afraid that the article alone of the charge you muſt neceſſarily be put to upon ſo great a work, and by conſequence of the price, will hinder you from meeting with ſuch encouragement as ſo laudable an undertaking deſerves. I hope you have had tolerable ſucceſs in your ſubſcriptions in England: but I am ſorry to underſtand from Mr. Trail (to whom I communicated what was proper in your's) that he has as yet got no ſubſcriptions here, but only ſome promiſes, that of thoſe many he has applied to, a few will purchaſe the book when publiſhed. Upon theſe conſiderations you will forgive me, that I flatly refuſe any ſuch compliment, and I believe that Mr. M'Millan will do the ſame. Thus much however I will conſent to, that the Advocates Library be named among the ſubſcribers, and that becauſe our finances are ſtill very low, you will excuſe their not paying you any part of the price till the whole is finiſhed; which, God willing, I ſhall take care ſhall be all paid then.

I am ſtill your debtor for part of the price of the laſt parcel I had from you. As I have deſired Mr. Davidſon to receive ſome money for me at London, I have likewiſe directed him to pay off with it the balance yet due to you; upon which you'll pleaſe to give your receipt for the whole.

I am very reſpectfully,

SIR,

Your moſt humble ſervant,

T. RUDDIMAN.

Edinburgh, 15th July 1740.

Lord Chancellor Somers readily purchaſed of the finder what had thus been fortunately found. This treaſure-trove deſcended, upon the death of Lord Somers, to Sir Joſeph Jekyl, who had married his ſiſter. When Sir Joſeph died, in Auguſt 1738, Thurloe's papers, which had been thus concealed, and thus found, and which Lord Somers had bound into ſixty-ſeven volumes, in folio, were purchaſed by Fletcher Gyles. The bookſeller determined to publiſh them, in order to repay himſelf the price. And the well-known Doctor Birch was employed, as the editor, who ſlightly mentions the help of Ruddiman. This collection, containing memorials of Engliſh affairs, from 1638 to 1660, in ſeven folio volumes, was publiſhed in 1742. Honeſt Gyles lived not to know the ſucceſs of his expenſive enterprize, having loſt his life by a ſtroke of the apoplexy, on the 8th of November 1741. Though theſe *Memorials* were publiſhed with every circumſtance of ſplendour, with every attention to utility, and with Lord Hardwick's patronage, they have long ſold at the eſtabliſhed price of waſte paper.

It was in Auguſt 1740, that Ruddiman wrote what has never been printed, "*Critical Remarks* "*upon Peter Burman's Notes on Ovid's Works.*" The following note, which is the firſt, may be ſubjoined as a proper ſpecimen of the acumen of Ruddiman, and the fallibility of Burman:

After

" After that great critic had obſerved from a " note of Heinſius, on the place, [Heroid. " Epiſt. 1. v. 87.] that Virgil and others name " Zacynthus *nemoroſa*, while Ovid choſe rather " to call it *alta*, immediately ſubjoins, that " Bochart will have it ſo named from the riſing " hills, which are in it; and then quotes Silius, " lib. 1. p. 275,

" Conditus excelſo ſacravit colle Zacynthos.

" Ubi latè eam deſcribit, quam deſcriptionem " illuſtrat Triſtanus Comment. Hiſtor. p. 415." Thus he. " But, this learned man," ſays Ruddiman, " is here much miſtaken: for Silius " Italicus is not there ſpeaking of the iſland Za- " cynthos, which is the preſent Zant, in the " Ionian Sea; but of a perſon, ſo called, who " was one of the attendants of Hercules, in his " travels to Spain, and who was killed by a " ſerpent, and buried there, at the place, that " was called Saguntus from his name. It is this " city, which is ſo famous in the ſecond Punic " war, that Silius Italicus there deſcribes, with- " out ſaying any thing of the iſland Zacyn- " thos, but that the firſt inhabitants of Saguntus " were fugitives from thence; ſo that the *excelſo* " *colle* in Silius have no relation to the iſland, " but to the city Saguntus, which was built at " or near that high hill, where Zacynthos was " buried."

But,

But, no amuſement, no purſuit, ever prevented Ruddiman from diſcharging faithfully his duty, as the keeper of the Advocates Library. He had long laboured, with the help of Goodal, his aſſiſtant, in making a catalogue of their books, without which, the beſt library is uſeleſs. This catalogue had been for years commodious to the lawyers. But, when it was at length printed, in 1742, its uſefulneſs was extended to the lettered world.

Ruddiman was, mean time, induced by his piety, to relinquiſh, for a time, his philological, for religious, ſtudies. He was induced, by a deſire of doing diſintereſted good, to publiſh, in September 1742, Doctor John Scott's Sermon, with a *preface* by himſelf. (*d*) His religious mind, like Johnſon's, thought it of importance, during *thoſe giddy times, wherein the ſeveral parties were ſo much divided, concerning the real eſſence of true religion*, to recommend rational divinity, and to enforce genuine devotion.

But, the piety of Ruddiman conſiſted of action, rather than recluſeneſs. His acts of religion never detained him long from the buſineſs of life. And, he was by this ſpirit enabled, amid the variety of his avocations, to cultivate letters, and to attend to the conteſts of literature.

(*d*) A Diſcourſe on Pſalm xi. 7. by John Scott, D. D. with a *ſeaſonable* Preface by Thomas Ruddiman, M. A. [Scots Mag. 1742, p. 440.]

His

His attention had been drawn, in 1740, to the angry diſpute between Lauder and Love, on the comparative merits of the Pſalms, as they had been verſified by Buchanan, and Johnſton. In his opinion, the diſputants were rather carried away by the extravagance of dogmatiſts, than influenced by the proprieties of critics. (*e*) But his attentiveneſs was fixed on this ſubject, in 1741, by the *prefatory diſcourſe* of Auditor Benſon to a new edition of Johnſton's Paraphraſe of David's Pſalms, which was written in ſuch an unuſual ſtyle of panegyrick, and of cenſure, with regard to the objects, both of his admiration, and diſlike, as to rouze aſtoniſhment, and excite indignation.

William Benſon, who was at once eccentric, and enterprizing, was born in 1681, and was the ſon of Sir William Benſon, that had been a ſheriff of London. His education was liberal, and his erudition extenſive: but, by indulging his emotions of pedantry, and his pride of purſe, he had allowed his ſelf-conceit to cloud his better judgment. After ſerving, as ſheriff of Wiltſhire, in 1710, he gave way to his deſire of authorſhip. For his pamphlet on Swediſh affairs, of which a hundred thouſand copies are ſaid to have been ſold, he was examined by the privy-council, and proſecuted by the attorney general. He repre-

(*e*) MS. notes on his Vindication of Buchanan, p. 70. In his judgment, Love had advanced ſome aſſertions againſt Johnſton, which were unfounded.

ſented

ſented Shafteſbury, in the firſt parliament of George I. till he was made ſurveyor-general of the King's works, in 1718, on the mean expulſion of the illuſtrious builder of St. Paul's;

"While Wren with ſorrow to the grave deſcends."

He was, in his turn, diſmiſſed, for repreſenting the parliament-houſe, as in a ruinous ſtate, when it only wanted ſlight repairs. He conſoled himſelf, however, by the publication of *Virgil's Huſbandry, with notes critical and ruſtic*, in 1724. He had, mean-while, found more ſubſtantial conſolation in a grant of the office of auditor of the exchequer, to which he ſucceeded, on the death of Edward Harley, in Auguſt 1735. He was now incited by his vanity to dedicate his attention, and his money, to the honour of Milton. He erected a monument, he ſtruck a medal, and he paid for a Latin tranſlation of *Paradiſe Loſt*. He engaged in other literary projects. He publiſhed, in 1739, "*Letters concerning Poetical Tranſlations*, and *Virgil's, and Milton's Arts of Verſe*." Theſe paved the way for his *Prefatory Diſcourſe* to his numerous editions of Johnſton's Pſalms, (*f*) with a *Supplement, containing a Compariſon, between Johnſton and Buchanan*, in hyperbolical praiſe of

(*f*) There were entered at Stationers Hall, on the 16th of January, 1740-41, *Johnſton's Pſalms* for William Benſon, Eſq. and on the 24th of April 1741, the ſame book; but this laſt edition was ſaid to be *for the uſe of the Printe*.

Johnſton, and ſupercilious cenſure of Buchanan :—

——" Bold Benſon thruſt him by:
" On two unequal crutches propt he came,
" Milton on this, on that *one* Johnſton's name."

He ſent a copy of his ſplendid edition of *Johnſton's Paraphraſe* to Ruddiman, who was pleaſed by his attention, but not bribed by his preſent. And at the age of ſeventy, our grammarian ſat down to write a *Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan's Paraphraſe of the Book of Pſalms* (*g*) in a letter to that *learned gentleman*. Ruddiman had always admired Johnſton as an excellent writer. He had a high opinion of his extraordinary genius. He declared his judgment to be, that, for the elegance, and purity, of his diction, the ſweetneſs of his verſe, and for the other accompliſhments of a great poet, he was inferior to none, and ſuperior to moſt of the age, wherein he lived. Yet, Ruddiman acknowledged, that Johnſton had the blemiſhes, which were incident to his failings, as a man, and to his imperfections, as a writer.

Our grammarian was, however, aſtoniſhed, when he beheld " bold Benſon" undervalue, in compariſon with Johnſton, every other poet,

(*g*) This very erudite book was printed, by W. and T. Ruddimans, at Edinburgh, 1745, 8vo. pp. 390, with the name of the author, as the writer, but not as the printer of the work.

both

both ancient, and modern; not only his favourite *Ovid*, but the celebrated Buchanan.

Ruddiman had been the editor of the *cantitles* of Johnſton, and the *works* of Buchanan; and though he had reaſons, which might have prepoſſeſſed him in favour of Johnſton, on whom he had written encomiaſtick verſes, rather than Buchanan, whom juſtice had required him to cenſure: yet, like an equitable judge, who ſeparates regard for the perſon from conſiderations of the cauſe; and diſtinguiſhing the *moral*, from the *intellectual*, endowments of the two poets, Ruddiman,

> " Unbiaſſed by favour, or by ſpite,
> " Not dully prepoſſeſs'd, nor blindly right,"

proceeded to demonſtrate, that Benſon's praiſes of Johnſton were exaggerated, and that his cenſure of Buchanan was unfounded.

During the age, wherein Beza, Grotius, and the Scaligers, flouriſhed, Buchanan was generally ſtyled, *Poetarum ſui ſeculi facilè Princeps*: He was acknowledged by thoſe, who were poets themſelves; and who—

> " Might cenſure freely, having written well,"

as the moſt extraordinary genius, that had appeared for ſeveral centuries. Even Johnſton allowed his ſuperiority, whom he did not hope either to excel, or equal. From theſe conſiderations, Ruddiman inferred generally, that Benſon

had attended leſs to the opinion of contemporary writers, than to the ſuggeſtions of his own conceitedneſs.

From general remark, Ruddiman proceeded, (*b*) in purſuance of his plan, to minute inveſtigation, in order to demonſtrate the ſuperiority of Buchanan, and the ſubordination of Johnſton. Our vindicator celebrates the extraordinary merits of both, as to *poetic diction*, giving the praiſe of *variety* to Buchanan, whoſe *Lyricks* allowed him greater diverſity than the *Elegiacks* of Johnſton, which admitted of leſs choice. He aſſigns the palm of fidelity to Buchanan, in conforming his ſentiments to the nature of the ſubject, and in ſtudying to make his Paraphraſe a faithful repreſentation of the original. He awarded the honours, which belong to clearneſs, and purity, of language to Buchanan: But, with ſome heſitation, he acknowledged the ſuperiority of Johnſton, in the harmony of his numbers.

The *ſecond part* of the vindicator's deſign led him to conſider the general objections, which Benſon had made to Buchanan's paraphraſe. (*i*) He now endeavoured with happy ſucceſs to diſcharge a debt, which he owed to the memory of ſo great a genius, whoſe poetical works, being the moſt illuſtrious of his performances, did ho-

(*b*) In chapter 1. p. 7.

(*i*) Chap. 2. p. 121.

nour

critic is ſtudious to
, in idly inſiſting on an
not be ſupported, that
ns had been aſſigned as
n he was impriſoned in
r at length diſcovers,
are two kinds; the one
re free; the one more
e diffuſe: of the firſt
Buchanan of the laſt.
herein this great poet
, conciſeneſs was impracti-
ſion is always compenſated
th which he conveys the true
ginal: and his *excurſions into*
which had provoked the cenſure
liman vindicates by the practice
the authority of Horace.

the true ſpirit of captiouſneſs, that
vered, what no poet had ever fan-
critic had ever found, that *Buchanan's*
Tully's proſe. Ruddiman evinced the
his objection, by ſhewing how little
ult of any poet, in borrowing phraſes
Cicero, who decked his orations with the
ſt flowers of poetry. From hypercriticiſm
ndicator appeals to *authority*, which is the
logiſt's *argument:* and, with happy recol-
ion, he ſhews, that Virgil, the greateſt Latin
poet, had borrowed felicities of expreſſion from

Tully, the greateſt Latin orator. Ruddiman now deſcends from the heights of authority to the lower regions of inveſtigation, with regard to thoſe words, which were ſaid by dogmatiſm to be proſaick. While he vindicates Buchanan, he exhibits admirable ſpecimens of his own ſolidity of judgment, and extent of erudition, of his nicety of criticiſm, and elegance of taſte.

But, hypercriticiſm had not yet finiſhed the trials, which the muſe of Buchanan was ſtill to ſuſtain, in the ſchool of Ariſtarchus. The poet's *dedication*, and three of his fineſt pſalms, were to undergo a more rigorous examination of futility rather than acumen, of captiouſneſs more than of candour. And, Ruddiman was carried forward, (*k*) in the track of Benſon, to the laſt part of his taſk, which was deſigned to ſhow, that Benſon's objections to Buchanan were unfounded, that his preference of Johnſton was unclaſſical.

On a fair compariſon of the two dedications; of Buchanan's to Mary, the Queen of Scots, and of Johnſton's to Mary, the Counteſs of Mariſchal; Ruddiman ſpeaks of the dedication of Buchanan, as an incomparable epigram; he declares Johnſton's dedication to be admirable poetry. This conteſt of poetic genius may at laſt be fairly ſettled upon the prudential maxims of Melvil, with regard to the beauty of the rival

(*k*) In chap. 3. p. 199.

Queens:

Queens: it may be allowed, then, that Buchanan's Mary was handſomeſt, at Edinburgh; Johnſton's Mary, at Aberdeen. To this deciſion, however, our vindicator is not willing to aſſent. He inſiſts, that the praiſes of Buchanan are founded in truth, and are accompanied with modeſty; but that Johnſton's panegyricks are run up into improbabilities, which, amounting to falſehood, contaminate the elegant language of an eminent poet. The acuteneſs of Ruddiman at laſt diſcovers in Johnſton's dedication, what deciſively turns the balance in favour of Buchanan. He finds in the dedication of Johnſton, that this rival poet had *aped* Buchanan; the ſame thought being carried through the whole dedications of both. He at laſt decides, after a rigorous, yet fair, inveſtigation, that as Johnſton's dedicatory poem is but an imitation of Buchanan's dedicatory epigram, to Buchanan ought to be aſſigned the prize, which belongs to originality of genius, and ſuperiority of performance.

In purſuance of his plan, our vindicator inſtituted a minute compariſon of the three fineſt pſalms of Buchanan, the 1ſt, the 104th, and the 137th, with the boaſted pſalms of Johnſton. He now compares couplets; he meaſures ſyllables; he weighs quantities; he examines the proprieties of verſe; he adjuſts the niceties of taſte: and taking a general view of the *tranſlation* and *language* of the two poets, Ruddiman finally left

it to the critical world to determine, whether he had not vindicated the literary honours of Buchanan from the *groundleſs cavils* of Benſon, and even demonſtrated that, through the whole of his noble work, Buchanan was in *every reſpect greatly ſuperior* to Johnſton. While executing this deciſive vindication, our venerable grammarian diſplayed the extenſiveneſs of his learning, and exhibited uncommon ſpecimens of judgment and taſte. During his whole taſk, of expoſing hypercriticiſm, of vindicating one poet, without doing wrong to the other, he ſeems to have had conſtantly before his eyes the famous precept:

" 'Tis not enough, taſte, judgment, learning, join;
" In all you ſpeak, let truth and candour ſhine."

It has been the fate of few men to have had their follies ridiculed, and their ignorance expoſed, by ſuch a poet, as Pope, and by ſuch a ſcholar, as Ruddiman. (*l*)

How

(*l*) The following letter, from Ruddiman to Sir Harry Munro of Foulis, bart. dated, at Edinburgh, the 20th March 1750, which, as it ſhows the modeſty of Ruddiman, and is a proof of the claſſical attainments of Sir Harry Munro, the reader will doubtleſs be glad to ſee, at the concluſion of Ruddiman's Vindication of Buchanan:

Hon. Sir,

I am favoured with yours of the 10th inſtant, in which you complain of my not giving you my thoughts upon the notes, you had put into my hands on Buchanan's Pſalms.—When I had the honour of being with you, in the coffee-houſe, I apprehended, that you were firſt to have written to me,

How Benſon felt, when he peruſed the elaborate performance of our judicious vindicator, cannot

me, and in expectation whereof, I deferred giving you my opinion on the ſubject. But, ſo far was I from thinking theſe notes of your's *puerile*, or *quiſquiliæ*, as you expreſs it, that upon peruſal, which I ſet about immediately after you put them into my hands, I was not a little ſurprized, a gentleman of your rank, and years, ſhould diſcover ſuch an extraordinary acquaintance with theſe ancient authors of the Belles Lettres, and the various commentators, and critics, that write upon them; that it is hardly to be paralleled, I am ſure, in this country by thoſe, that are profeſſors of that kind of learning.—The only fault, I have to your notes, if it can be called a fault, is, that ſome of them are too minute and particular, and which therefore ſome may think not very neceſſary, eſpecially that if you continue that method, through the reſt of that paraphraſe, which you have taken in the firſt twenty, it will ſwell the performance to a very great bulk. I could wiſh likewiſe, that in them you would join with me, in vindicating Buchanan, from the exceptions ſome very injuſtly have taken againſt ſome paſſages in that glorious work, I have endeavoured to defend him, as well as I could, but am perſuaded, that your extenſive knowledge in theſe matters will enable you to do it to ſome better purpoſe, at leaſt to confirm what I have ſaid. As you informed me, that you had applied yourſelf to the reading of Hebrew, I could likewiſe wiſh, that you would touch a little upon the agreement of Buchanan's paraphraſe with the original text. I am perſuaded, that Buchanan himſelf knew but little of that language, and that in his verſion he chiefly followed Vatablus's Commentaries, who was an eminent profeſſor of it, as little do I believe, that Dr. Johnſton was converſant in that kind of learning; and it would not be amiſs for you to obſerve how far the encomiums given to the doctor's per-

formance

cannot now be known. He probably began to ſuſpect, that the labours of his life had been only *vanities*. Certain it is, that though he had ſpent his days, and nights, in a library; yet a ſhort time before his death, he took an averſion to books, which became unconquerable. (*m*) He perhaps diſcovered what had appeared to Swift, during his lamented depravity; that *theſe things are only nonſenſe*. Benſon died of a palſy, at Wimbledon, where he had for ſome years lived, without the intruſion of company, on the 2d of February 1754, at the advanced age of ſeventy-four.

Of the political perturbations of the years 1745, and 1746, Ruddiman doubtleſs partook; feeling ſucceſſively the alternate anxieties of hope and fear. The *young chevalier* he never ſaw, as he tells himſelf, *but once, for two minutes*, (*n*)

formance by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, on that account, are well founded.

I ſhall take ſpecial care of the ſheets, you have already put into my hand, and hope, as your other affairs will permit, you will go on until the whole is finiſhed: And I am very reſpectfully,

Honoured Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

T. RUDDIMAN.

(*m*) See that very curious book, which no biographical library can be without, Nichols's Life of Bowyer, pages 154, and 559.

(*n*) In the preface, p. 15, to his *Diſſertation concerning the Competition between Bruce and Baliol.*

though

though he does not reveal where he ſaw the grandſon of James II. whether in the ſtreet, or in the palace. Advanced, as he now was, beyond the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, however he may have been employed in his cloſet, he could take no active part in the field.

After giving aſſiſtance, by his reſearches, to the hiſtorian of printing, (*o*) he continued with his partners, during the years 1745, and 1746, to print the *Caledonian Mercury*, though it was deemed prudent to publiſh this paper anonymouſly, from the 23d of September 1745, to the 25th of the following November; yet he did not obtain impunity from his circumſpection.

During the calamitous ſummer of 1745, Ruddiman retired, from the diſturbed ſcenes of Edinburgh, to the ſequeſtered quiet of the country. Here, like the philoſophical Lord Kaimes, he diverted the dreary days of rebellion, by purſuing his accuſtomed ſtudies. It was in the retirement of a farmer's dwelling, that he wrote, without any purpoſe of publication, *Critical Obſervations* on *Burman's Commentary* upon *Lucan's Pharſalia*, which that eminent ſcholar had publiſhed, at Leyden, in 1740.

The following extract, from theſe Obſervations, will convince the reader, that the light of Burman did not always illuminate the darkneſs,

(*o*) See Ames's Typ. An. p. 574.

which

which he wiſhed to illuſtrate. Let us take, as an example, the firſt obſervation of Ruddiman:

" Unde venit Titan et nox ubi ſidera condit."
Lucan, lib. i. ver. 15.

" It is evident, " ſays our obſerver," that the poet " deſigned here to deſcribe the four quarters of " the world, the eaſt, weſt, ſouth, and north; " and in this firſt line, the two former muſt be " ſignified: but, Mr. Burman is at a loſs, how " to make out *the weſt*, from theſe words, *nox* " *ubi ſidera condit*; and runs out into ſeveral " conjectures, for making theſe words anſwer " his purpoſe, though at laſt, he is not very well " pleaſed with any of them. What therefore " Mr. Burman could not explain to his own ſatiſ- " faction, I think, " ſays Ruddiman," may fairly " be accounted for, in the following manner. It " muſt be premiſed, as Mr. Burman has not ad- " verted to it, that the images, in which the " poets repreſented the revolution of the hea- " vens, the viciſſitudes of day, and night, and " the motions of the ſun, moon, and ſtars: ac- " cording to theſe images, they ſuppoſed the " heavens to be divided into two hemiſpheres, " the one white, or light, and the other black, " or dark: that in the light hemiſphere, the ſun " bore rule, and advanced almoſt into the front " of it: that the night preſided over the dark " hemiſphere, with the ſtars, and all the other " planets,

" planets, except the ſun: and, of conſequence, " when the ſun roſe in the eaſt, the night ſet in " the weſt; on the contrary, when the night " roſe in the eaſt, the ſun ſet in the weſt; there " being always one half of the heavens between " them. From theſe conſiderations I hope," continues Ruddiman, " it will appear, that by " the words, *nox ubi ſidera condit*, is to be un- " derſtood that quarter of the world, where *nox*, " or the night (being repreſented as a goddeſs) " ſets, (i. e.) leaves off to be ſeen, which al- " ways happens upon the ſun's riſing: *nox ubi* " *ſidera condit*, therefore, is the ſame thing, as if " our author had ſaid, *ubi nox condit ſe et ſidera* " *quæ illam ſemper comitantur*; (i. e.) where that " dark hemiſphere of the heavens, the night, " and ſtars, are turned out of our ſight, the ſun " having occupied the light hemiſphere, which " now is come, in the place of the others. I " might confirm what I have ſaid," Ruddiman concludes, " by a great many teſtimonies from " the beſt Latin poets; but, I ſhall content myſelf " with the following from Virgil, Æn. II. 250.

" Vertitur interea cœlum, ruit oceano nox.

" Where, by the words *cœlum vertitur* is, I " think to be underſtood, that the light part of " the heavens had performed its courſe, and that " the dark part, with the night, in the front of it, " was coming into its place. And it is to be ob- " ſerved, by the by, that *nox ruit oceano* ſignify,

" that

" that the night ruſhed out of the ocean, the pre-
" poſition *ex* being underſtood, and not as the
" Dauphin interpreter abſurdly explains it, *in*
" *oceanum*, making the word *oceano* of the dative
" caſe." But, of this enough, to ſhow the ingenuity, and ſtrength, of Ruddiman!

From criticizing Burman, Ruddiman ere long proceeded to criticize himſelf. In February 1746, he carefully read over his *Vindication of Buchanan*; correcting the minuteſt faults, either of the printer, or the author. With fond attention to the offspring of his age, he added ſuch proofs, and illuſtrations, as he thought, would either confirm the clear, or elucidate the dark. From ſuch liberal ſtudies he was ere long diverted to other labours, that were leſs agreeable to his temper.

Ruddiman had ſcarcely ceaſed from vindicating Buchanan, when he was attacked by pertinacious bigotry for his edition of the works of Buchanan. George Logan, who began unprovoked hoſtilities againſt our editor, in December 1746, was deſcended of the family of Logan, of Logan, in the county of Ayr. He was born, in 1678, and was probably the ſon of George Logan, whoſe profeſſion I am unable to aſcertain, after all my inquiries, by a daughter of Mr. Cunnyngham, the miniſter of Old Cumnock, who was the father of Alexander Cunnyngham, the Scotti-
ſh

tiſh profeſſor of the civil law. (*p*) George Logan, our antagoniſt, was certainly educated in the univerſity of Glaſgow, where he entered himſelf a ſcholar, in the Greek claſs, in March 1693; and where, having obtained his Maſter of Arts degree, in 1696, (*q*) he choſe the church for his profeſſion. He was licenſed as a probationer, by the preſbyter of Glaſgow, about the year 1702. And, being unanimouſly choſen, by a popular call, to be miniſter of Lauder, on the 6th of February 1707, in oppoſition to Stephen Oliver, and George Hall, he was ordained a mi-

(*p*) Logan has this exclamation, in the dedication to his ſecond treatiſe on government, "What would Burmannus, or *my own uncle*, Mr. Alexander Cunnyngham of *Bloak*, the moſt learned civilian, in the age, conclude from reading of the preface to Buchanan's works!" By the *Act anent Tunnage*, of the 1ſt of September 1698, 150l. ſterling were granted to Mr. Alexander Cunnyngham, *as profeſſor of the civil law*. By the act of the 1ſt of Anne, N° 8, a ſalary of 1,800l. Scots, yearly, was ſettled on Mr. Alexander Cunnyngham, the profeſſor of the civil law. On the 22d of July 1710, he was one of the Faculty of Advocates, who augmented the ſalary of Ruddiman. [See the act of the Faculty for the ſac ſimile of Alexander Cunnyngham's ſubſcription.] Theſe facts prove, that George Logan was not, as we have been lately told, the nephew of Alexander Cunnyngham, the hiſtorian and critic, was a very different man from the profeſſor of civil law.

(*q*) I owe a favour to the Reverend Dr. Finlay, the profeſſor of divinity, in the univerſity of Glaſgow, for aſcertaining the above mentioned dates, by ſearching the college records.

niſter,

niſter, by the ſame preſbytery, on the 7th of April 1707. At Lauder he was ſettled on the 8th of the ſubſequent May. Here he remained, performing diligently the functions of his miniſtry, till the 22d of January 1719, when he was ordained the miniſter of Sprouſton, in the preſbytery of Kelſo, in conſequence of an unanimous invitation. His fame as a preacher, reaching Dunbar, he was invited thither, in November 1721, and ſettled as miniſter, on the 22d of January 1722.

At Dunbar it was, that he married for his firſt wife, the ſiſter of Sir Alexander Home of Eccles, in the Merſe, who brought him a ſon and a daughter, both of whom ſurvived him. At Dunbar he continued the exerciſe of his miniſtry, till the 14th of December 1732, when he was admitted one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, by the influence, probably, of his wife's relations. In 1732, he publiſhed his treatiſe *On the Right of electing Miniſters*. Now it was, that his zeal of party induced him to join the aſſociated critics againſt Ruddiman. He appeared again before the public, as a writer, in 1737. The tumult, in which Captain Porteous loſt his life, at Edinburgh, in September 1736, appeared ſo atrocious to the parliament, that an act was paſſed, in 1737, *for bringing to juſtice his murderers*, (r)

(r) 10 Geo. II. ch. 35.

which

which required, that this law ſhould be read, in the churches, on the firſt Sunday, in every month, during a year. All the miniſters did not think, with Logan, that the will of the legiſlature ought, on this occaſion, to be obeyed. And, he was carried by the activity of his temper into a conteſt, in 1737, with the late Doctor Alexander Webſter, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, on the propriety of refuſing obedience to an act of parliament, in a point, wherein it is not eaſy to perceive, how either conſcience, or religion, could be concerned.

Logan obtained, on the 8th of May 1740, the higheſt honour of his church. At the age of ſixty-two, he was choſen the moderator of that general aſſembly, which, by *depoſing* Ebenezer Erſkine, and other miniſters, gave riſe to the *preſbytery of relief*.

What Logan ſuffered from the rebellion, in 1745, cannot now be known. It certainly left a keenneſs on his ſpirit, which urged him into controverſy, when his age rather wanted repoſe. And, in December 1746, he attacked Ruddiman, who was then buſy on Burman's Lucan, and for one-and-thirty years, had neither done, nor ſaid, any thing, which could excite the malevolence of ſpleen, or move the activity of factiouſneſs, if we except *The Diplomata*.

Logan had from nature no vigour of intellect, from ſtudy no enlargement of knowledge, from

habit no preciſion of reaſoning: and, when he came out with his *Treatiſe on Government*, (*s*) which abler pens had failed to explain, his friends lamented, that he ſhould have expoſed, even to the eye of friendſhip, an intemperance of ſpirit, which only enfeebled the efforts of his zeal. He was, in his turn, attacked, ere long, with airy ridicule, rather than with ſerious argument, (*t*) while Ruddiman was making preparations for battle, at the advanced age of ſeventy-two. Logan was too eager for warfare to wait his antagoniſt's onſet: and he paraded, in April 1747, with a ſecond treatiſe on government, while his opponent was only ſharpening his ſword.

At length, Ruddiman came into the field with his *Anſwer* (*u*) *to Logan*, in July 1747. In the *firſt*

(*s*) Logan began his premeditated attack on Ruddiman, by publiſhing, in December 1746, "A Treatiſe on Govern-" ment; ſhewing that the Right of the Kings of Scotland to " the Crown was not ſtrictly and abſolutely hereditary. " Edinburgh, 8vo, price 2 s." To this he added, in April 1747, "A Second Treatiſe on Government; ſhewing that " the Right to the Crown of Scotland was not hereditary, in " the Senſe of Jacobites, Edinburgh, 8vo, price 1 s. 6 d."

(*t*) In an anonymous letter to the Reverend Mr. George Logan, A. M. Edinburgh, 1747, 8vo, without the name of the printer, or the bookſeller.

(*u*) An Anſwer to the Reverend Mr. George Logan's late Treatiſe on Government was printed by Walter and Thomas Ruddimans, at Edinburgh, 1747, 8vo, pp. 402. This anſwer is embelliſhed with what is ſaid to have been the firſt engraving

firſt part of this elaborate work, he undertakes to prove, contrary to the miſrepreſentations of Logan, that by the ancient conſtitution of Scotland, the deſcent of the crown was *hereditary*; in the *ſecond*, that the birth of Robert III. was legitimate. In his preface, Ruddiman lamented that, contrary to his inclination, he ſhould have been obliged to *enter the liſts* with Mr. Logan, for whom he long entertained a ſincere eſteem: but, being called upon to vindicate his writings, he ſubmitted to his fate, though he had never had a paſſion for debates of any kind; exclaiming *Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato, ſed magis amica veritas!*

On the *firſt* head of inquiry, Ruddiman remarked, that if the ſpirit of party had not entered into the queſtion, it could have never been doubted, whether the crown of Scotland had been hereditary, or elective. (*x*) Every deſcent, from

engraving of the late Sir Robert Strange. Juſtice is repreſented with her proper attributes, weighing *one truth* againſt *many falſehoods*. Logan even attacked the artiſt, whoſe celebrated works are ſaid, by Mr. Walpole, to form an epoch in the art.

(*x*) Had the diſputants only explained their own meaning, a tedious controverſy might have been extremely abridged. The crown of Scotland was formerly, what the crown of Great Britain is at preſent, *hereditary*, but *defeaſible*, by proper authority, when called upon, by ſome great neceſſity. Logan ſeems to have thought, that any occaſion, and any authority, were quite ſufficient to juſtify the act of defeaſibility.

from the origin of the monarchy, to the commencement of the controverſy, demonſtrates the hereditary nature of the kingſhip, though it was often interrupted by violence, and ſometimes modified by policy. On the other hand, there is no evidence, either in record, or in hiſtory, to prove, that it was ever elective. Logan indeed endeavoured to ſupport a contrary opinion, from the following phraſes of Buchanan, which are ſcattered with a liberal hand, through the earlier periods of his hiſtory, without quoting authority, though he had tradition againſt him: *Electus eſt Rex, juſſectus eſt, populi ſuffragijs creatur, populus regnare juſſit.* Such rhetorical expreſſions did not impoſe on the judgment of Ruddiman. If they were to be ſtrictly taken, as conveying an accurate ſtatement of the fact, they muſt be deemed abſolutely falſe: for, how could that ſovereign be ſaid to be elected, who, on the deceaſe of his predeceſſor, was immediately proclaimed King, before the demiſe could be known to the country? Buchanan's language, which may be allowed to be fine Latinity, was intended by him, to delude rather than inform, though none could be deluded by it, who wiſhed to be informed.

In order to prove his poſition, Ruddiman runs over the earlier ages of the Scottiſh Annals. He

Ruddiman thought the neceſſity muſt be urgent, and the authority moſt high, to warrant ſuch an act.

ſhews

ſhews now, what indeed had been before ſhewn by Lloyd, the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, (*y*) that Buchanan lays down excellent rules for the writing of hiſtory, but departs, in his performances, from his own canons. In his theory, Buchanan raiſes a loud outcry againſt the fables of Hector Boece; yet, in his practice, he adopts, and embelliſhes, the ridiculous fictions of that credulous annaliſt. If we did not know the motives of Buchanan, we ſhould be aſtoniſhed to ſee him, with an unlucky pen, attributing qualities, either good, or bad, to forty kings, who never exiſted, except in the viſionary pages of Boece. Romance may claim this ſpecies of compoſition, for her own, though hiſtory muſt diſclaim it, as illegitimate. It required not, indeed, the vigour of Ruddiman to overthrow the weakneſs of Logan, who laid the foundations of the government, which he affected, either on the wild fables of Boece, or on the more deſpicable fallacies of Buchanan.

In this temper, Ruddiman reviewed, in one hundred and fifty-eight pages of accurate inveſtigation, the *firſt part* of Logan's *Treatiſe* on government. Having arrived at the *ſecond part*, ſuch a ſcene opened on our reviewer's eyes, as, in his belief, the world had never ſeen before. It

(*y*) In his admirable Account of Church Government,—the preface.

was indeed a lamentable ſight to behold "a mi-
"niſter of the goſpel of truth," attempting, by reiterated efforts of captiouſneſs, "to diſprove a "fact, the truth of which is ſo manifeſt, that "there is no withſtanding it, unleſs we will be-"come abſolute ſceptics." Yet ſuch, in the judgment of Ruddiman, was the conduct of Logan, concerning the *legitimacy* of Robert III. the King of Scots, whom he endeavoured to prove a baſtard, by the factious labour of years, in oppoſition to the ſatisfactory documents, which had been produced, for detecting a calumny, that had been raiſed, without cauſe, and was continued, without authority.

Ruddiman was now carried deep into the curious hiſtory of that calumny, either by his love of truth, or by his zeal of loyalty. It was the continuator of *Fordun's Scotichronicon*, whoever he were, whether Walter Bowmaker, Patrick Ruſſel, or Magnus Macculloch, who, during the reign of James II. fabricated the following ſtory: "Robert III. whoſe original name "was *John*, the Steward, was with his brothers "Robert, and Alexander, begotten in concu-"binage, between Robert II. before his acceſſion "to the throne of Scotland, and Elizabeth "Mure, the daughter of Sir Adam Mure of "Rowallan. Robert II. while he was yet the "Steward of Scotland, married Eupheme Roſs, "the daughter of Hugh, Earl of Roſs, by whom

" he had two ſons, and one daughter. And " having ſucceeded to his uncle David II. and " Queen Eupheme having died in the third " year of his reign, he married his concubine " Elizabeth Mure, whoſe children were thereby " legitimated, and whoſe eldeſt ſon aſcended " the throne by the name of Robert III." Such is the ſtory, which, having been firſt told by the continuator of Fordun, was copied implicitly by Boece, by Leſly, by Buchanan, and by the whole tribe of Scottiſh hiſtorians, who either ſhrunk from the trouble of reſearch, or felt not the charms of truth. Neither Fordun, indeed, nor Winton, who lived at the time, knew any thing of this tale, at leaſt did not think it worthy of notice, improbable as it is, in the creation, and contradictory as it appears, in the narrative.

The inveſtigation of diſcoveries will ever be intereſting to man, as an inquiſitive being. The diſcoverer will always be recollected with praiſe, as the benefactor of mankind. Sir Lewis Stewart, who was one of the greateſt lawyers, of whom Scotland can boaſt, had the honour, when Lord Advocate to Charles I. to diſcover the falſehood of that ſtory, by ſearching *the records*, for aſcertaining *the fact*. And, he found an act of the firſt parliament of Robert II. [1371], which proved, that Elizabeth Mure was his *firſt* wife, and which recognized her ſons, as *lawful heirs* to

the throne. He alſo diſcovered twenty charters, which, by ſtating John to be the eldeſt ſon and *heir* of Robert, the Steward of Scotland, by Elizabeth Mure, confirmed the authentic notices of the act of parliament, if the plain aſſertions of the members of parliament, had required confirmation. All theſe diſcoveries, which eſtabliſhed *the fact* by *record evidence*, Sir Lewis communicated to Charles I. when he returned to Scotland, who had, however, no leiſure for genealogical inquiries, though he might thereby have gratified his pride. Logan was ſo abſurd, as to doubt the exiſtence of the act of parliament, and ſo irrational, as to deny the efficacy of charters, for proving *the fact*.

Sir George Mackenzie, who ſucceeded Sir Lewis, in his knowledge of law, and in his office of advocate, alſo followed him in his track of diſcovery. He too found, among the records, an act of the parliament [1473], which entailed the crown on John the *eldeſt ſon* of Robert II. by his *firſt* marriage; and, if John ſhould fail, on the other ſons of Robert II. by his firſt, and ſecond, wife. Sir George alſo diſcovered various charters, which ſpeak of *John* as the eldeſt ſon, and *heir*, of Robert II. by his firſt wife, with the conſent of his ſecond wife, and with the approbation of her family. Theſe diſcoveries, Sir George dedicated in his *Jus Regium*, to the univerſity of Oxford, in 1684, the *authority* of which, he declared,

clared, would weigh as much as private men's *arguments*. Had Sir George been leſs romantick, he had left leſs cauſe for the cavils of Logan, who continued to doubt his authority, and to diſpute his inferences.

The track of diſcovery, being now laid open, made it eaſy to ſail in the wake of the firſt diſcoverers. Lewis Innes, the well-known principal of the Scots college at Paris, having found a charter, in the archives of his college, dated at Perth, on the 12th of January 1364, aſſembled the antiquaries of France, with the illuſtrious Mabillon at their head, in order to aſcertain the genuineneſs of a charter, which proved, that *John was the eldeſt ſon* and *heir* of Robert by his *firſt marriage*; and *that a diſpenſation for this marriage had been obtained from the Pope*. The antiquaries, being thus aſſembled, in May 1694, viewed the parchment, no doubt, inſpected the ſeal, examined the characters, and compared the circumſtances, before they pronounced their final decree of abſolute authenticity. The principal publiſhed, with triumph, in 1695, what he had thus found; and Mabillon re-publiſhed, with alacrity, what he had thus authenticated. But, confident in his own folly, Logan diſputed the diplomatic knowledge of the French antiquaries, who, as he gravely inſiſted, were acknowledged papiſts, and, of courſe, were unfit judges of what belonged to authentic papers!

It

It was reſerved for the learned reſearch of George, Earl of Cromarty, the Lord Regiſter of Scotland, to methodize the diſcoveries of others, and to add to them his own. When his Lordſhip, however, publiſhed, in 1695, *The Vindication of Robert III.* and his Deſcendants, from the imputation of Baſtardy, the blunders of the printer deſtroyed the efficacy of his labours, by confounding dates, which, his Lordſhip neglecting to correct, in his firſt edition, threw diſcredit on his arguments, by involving him in controverſy. The architectural genius of Logan built, on this unſtable baſis, a ſuperſtructure, which the powerful arm of Ruddiman eaſily puſhed from its place.

In the liſt of inveſtigators, the Earl of Cromarty was followed by Rymer, the hiſtoriographer, who ſent out his *Letter to the Biſhop of Carliſle*, in 1702, wherein *Robert III. is beyond all diſpute freed from the imputation of baſtardy.* Rymer drew his proofs, from the Tower of London, as the Lord Regiſter had drawn his documents, from the caſtle of Edinburgh. In the long period, which elapſed from the captivity of David II. in October 1346, to his demiſe, in February 1370-1, England and Scotland, being in continual treaty for his ranſom, John, the ſon of Robert, the Steward, was conſtantly in the view of both the nations, and always paſſed, in the public acts, for *the firſt begotten ſon, and heir, of Robert, the Steward*

ard of Scotland. In order to prove theſe facts, Rymer either referred to records in the Tower, or appended charters to his letter, that ſpoke with deciſive authority to all, who knew the value of ſuch documents, which were nevertheleſs impugned by the feebleneſs of Logan, and ſupported by the vigour of Ruddiman.

Yet, the national archives had not even now been exhauſted of their authentic proofs. Richard Hay produced, in 1723, his *Vindication of Elizabeth Mure, from the Imputation of being a Concubine,* which is, at preſent, more curious for the charters, that he publiſhed, than eſtimable for the inferences, which he drew from them. (z) Hay of Drumboote was one of thoſe antiquaries, who was poſſeſt of excellent materials, yet wanted ſufficient ſkill to erect a fabric, either with Greek grace, or with Gothic ſtrength. He brought a thouſand charters to prove what had been already proved; but, he adduced no proof, that the diſpenſation for the marriage of Robert, the Steward of Scotland, and Elizabeth Mure, had been obtained, and the marriage conſummated, in 1334, which were the points, that he had engaged to prove, with more confidence, than ability.

Here, then, is the ſtate of the queſtion, with regard to the legitimacy of Robert III. at the

(z) The Vindication of Hay, was printed, at Edinburgh, by William Adams, jun. 1723, 4to. pp. 132.

com-

commencement of Logan's attack on Ruddiman. Upon the one ſide, the acts of parliament, and the records before mentioned, had demonſtrated, that Elizabeth Mure was the *firſt* wife of Robert, the Steward, whom he had married by a diſpenſation, and by whom he had John, his eldeſt ſon, who was acknowledged by the two nations, in their public tranſactions, as his heir, and recognized by the parliament of Scotland, for his ſucceſſor. On the other ſide, there were only the unauthorized aſſertions of the Scottiſh hiſtorians, from Bowmaker to Buchanan, who merit little praiſe for their hiſtorical inveſtigations, and deſerve ſome cenſure for their hiſtorical falſhoods. Logan laboured, through many a captious page, to invalidate the ſtrength of the moſt ſatisfactory proofs. Ruddiman anſwered the cavils of his antagoniſts with a ſuperiority of knowledge, which has ſeldom been ſurpaſſed in any conteſt. The late Sir David Dalrymple, however, informed me, "That in the diſpute, concerning the "legitimacy of Robert III. Ruddiman had the "right ſide to maintain, but on the whole, did "not conduct it with ſkill and preciſion: both "the antagoniſts were paſt their labour."

On the contrary, I can perceive no decline in the powers of Ruddiman; at the ſame time, I agree with that excellent judge, that Logan never had any powers. I am ready to admit, that Sir David would have conducted that controverſy with

with more ſkill, and preciſion. Yet, I think, that Ruddiman made out his point incontrovertibly. And, in order to place the legitimacy of Robert III. beyond the reach of cavil, he appended to his anſwer, 1ſt. The charter, which had been firſt printed by Innes, and afterwards re-publiſhed by Mabillon; 2dly. The declaration of parliament, in 1371, whereby John, the firſt-born ſon of Robert II. is called to the ſucceſſion; and 3dly, the declaration of parliament, in 1373, with regard to the ſucceſſion of the ſons of Robert II. which, being on that occaſion publiſhed with more accuracy, induced our reviewer to hope, that there could remain no doubt, whether John, who aſſumed the name of Robert III. were his father's eldeſt ſon by Elizabeth Mure, his firſt wife. The *Anſwer* of Ruddiman, however, though ſupported by thoſe documents, made no impreſſion on the impenetrable dulneſs, nor raiſed any bluſh on the pertinacious bigotry, of Logan. Yet, it muſt be allowed, that the date of the diſpenſation, and the epoch of the marriage, ſtill remained to be aſcertained, for removing doubts, and ſettling conviction. (*a*)

In our own day, the arguments of Ruddiman have been greatly enforced, and the intereſts of truth conſiderably ſtrengthened, by the procure-

(*a*) There was publiſhed at Edinburgh, in 1749, by Mr. Gordon of Buthlaw, a very able work, *De Nuptijs Roberti Seneſcalli Scotiæ atque Elizabethæ Moræ Diſſertatio.*

ment

ment of the additional proofs, which only ſcepticiſm wanted before. Mr. Andrew Stuart, who is known, in the juridical world, for his diligence of reſearch, and accuracy of inveſtigation, has found in the archives of Rome, the two diſpenſations for the marriages of Robert, the Steward, firſt with Elizabeth Mure, and ſecondly with Eupheme Roſs. (*b*) Yet, whether theſe proofs will convince the Logans of the times cannot eaſily be foretold. Bigotry will ever have her votaries, prejudice her ſlaves, and faction her partiſans.

In the midſt of this controverſy, Ruddiman ſuffered more from misfortunes, that he could not prevent, than from the attacks of opponents, which he could eaſily repel. He loſt his only ſon, at the age of thirty-three. This ſon, who bore his own name, and was the hope of his years, was appointed the principal manager of *the Caledonian Mercury*, when James Grant, the active partner, ruſhed into rebellion, in November 1745. The *Caledonian Mercury* was regarded with peculiar jealouſy, and its circulation was much impeded, by the ruling powers, in Scotland, even after the terrors of inſurrection had ceaſed. For an unlucky paragraph, which had been copied into the *Mercury*, from an Engliſh news-paper, in ſignificant Italics, was young

(*b*) See Mr. Aſtle's elaborate work on *The Seals* of Scotland, p. 10.

Rud-

Ruddiman impriſoned, in December 1746. The merit, and ſolicitude, of his father, obtained his diſcharge, at the end of ſix weeks impriſonment. But the priſoner had meantime contracted a diſeaſe, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, which brought him to his grave, on the 9th of September 1747. (c) Our grammarian ſought conſolation from his piety, as he could find no reparation for this wrong, which was done by the jealouſy, rather than the injuſtice, of power.

By Mr. Boſwell I have been told, "That "Ruddiman's ſon attended the pretender, in his "marches, with his printing preſs, and printed "his declarations; and that, being for this im-"priſoned, Ruddiman, by the advice of Lord "Achinleck, applied for his diſcharge to Ar-"chibald, Duke of Argyle, by a letter, in which "he called the late rebellion, the *late inſurgency*, "and, by no perſuaſion, could be made to alter "it." Such is the ſtory, which the kindneſs of Mr. Boſwell communicated to me, as—

"An honeſt tale, that ſpeeds beſt, being plainly told."

Let us examine this *honeſt tale* a little. The Ruddimans, indeed, may have printed the Pretender's declarations, while his power was irreſiſtible at Edinburgh, and while a ſergeant and a guard ſurrounded the printing-houſe. But, neither their perſons, nor their preſs, for a moment

(c) Scots Mag. 1747, p. 455.

attended

attended the inſurgents, who had no printer with them, when they arrived at Glaſgow. (*d*) Thomas Ruddiman, the younger, was impriſoned, as we have ſeen, for adopting, at a ſubſequent period, a harmleſs ſarcaſm from an Engliſh news-paper. The Caledonian Mercury uniformly ſpoke of the *inſurgents*, as *rebels*, except, during the period, when it had been fooliſh to offer an inſult, which had been inſtantly avenged, by triumphant inſurgency. Ruddiman *publicly* called this inſurgency a *rebellion*, at the ſame time, (*e*) that, according to the tale, neither perſuaſion, nor neceſſity, could induce him to adopt *privately*, the word *rebellion* inſtead of *inſurgency*. From this ſtory, as compared with facts, it is eaſy to perceive that, when the glitter of wit is preferred to the illuminations of accuracy, it is not a difficult taſk,

"To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

From the unlooked-for death of his ſon, Ruddiman found it neceſſary to make a new arrangement of his typographical affairs, though it

(*d*) In the Caledonian Mercury, dated the 10th of January 1746, there is the following article of news: "The "*rebels* carried off from Glaſgow a *printing preſs*, types, "and other materials, for that buſineſs, together with ſome "ſervants to work, in that way. When they carried off "theſe materials, they did it in this manner, that is, from "one printer, they took a preſs; from another, ſome types; "and from a third, chaſes, furniture, &c."

(*e*) In the preface to his *Anſwer* to Logan, 1747.

made

made little change in his uſual habits. His daughter Aliſon, being her brother's executor, and heir, became in this manner proprietor of his ſhare of the printing-houſe, which he had enjoyed, ſince Auguſt 1739. But, her ſituation making the buſineſs of a printer an unſuitable property, ſhe was thereby induced to convey her intereſt to her father. And, on the 16th of May 1748, he entered into "A contract of co-"partnery," with his brother Walter, "to "carry on the printing-buſineſs, and the news-"paper, as formerly, ſhare and ſhare alike." Conſidering that this project might be advantageous to their poſterity, they now ſettled the printing-houſe, and the *Caledonian Mercury*, on their neareſt, and lawful, heirs, reſpectively, in lineal deſcent. (*f*) In the typographical annals of Scotland, it is a remarkable fact, that a printing-houſe, and its materials, did not deſcend to executors, as chattels, but to heirs, as inheritances. And, owing to this peculiarity, in the law of Scotland, the heirs of Andrew Anderſon continued to be the King's printers, for upwards of thirty years, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II. of King William, and Queen Anne.

Neither thoſe arrangements, nor that diſaſter, could protect Ruddiman againſt attacks from the

(*f*) MS. Contract.

votaries of bigotry, the *ſlaves of prejudice*, or the *partizans of faction*, who were not to be convinced by the cogency of his arguments, nor over-awed by the ſuperiority of his powers. From the crowd, Logan again advanced to the charge, in May 1748, by giving his antagoniſt *the Finiſhing Stroke*; and exhibiting Mr. *Ruddiman as ſelf-condemned*. In *reply* to Ruddiman's *Anſwer*, he pretends, though without adequate performance, "to de-" monſtrate, 1ſt. That the right of the kings of " Scotland to the crown was not ſtrictly and " abſolutely hereditary, either from the ſucceſſion " of Robert Stewart to the excluſion of John " Baliol, who had the preferable right, or from " the ſucceſſion of Robert Stewart, contrary to " the juſt claim of William Earl of Douglas; " 2dly. That the right of our kings to the crown " of Scotland was not ſtrictly and abſolutely he-" reditary, from the ſucceſſion of Robert III. " who was begotten out of lawful marriage." The *Demonſtrations* of Logan conſiſt, in ſuppoſing what he ought to have proved, in cavilling at what could not be confuted, and in diſputing what could not be denied.

Such was the imbecility of Logan, that it called forth the ſupport of thoſe, who pitied his weakneſs, though they favoured his cauſe. The coadjutors of Logan found *the Magazines* of the times ready to receive their goods, whatever might be the texture, or the hue, of them; whether their wares were diſcoloured by prejudice, or

or debaſed by falſhood. (*g*) And, there were well-meaning perſons, who, conſidering Ruddiman as the champion of *Jacobitiſm*, and deſiring to impugn his writings, and to leſſen his character, were forced by their zeal, in order to gain their objects, to introduce fiction into hiſtory, abſurdity into argument, and fooliſhneſs into law. With their well-meaningneſs, they had none of that rectitude of mind, which, diſregarding factiouſneſs, would rather inſiſt, that the *Revolution* was *juſt*, becauſe it was *neceſſary*; and being founded in neceſſity, it did not require for its juſtification, that hiſtory ſhould be falſified, or the conſtitution perverted.

At the age of ſeventy-four, Ruddiman advanced once more againſt his antagoniſts, without loſing *one jot of heart, or hope*. The impertinence of Logan had, mean time, held up the *terrors of the law*, in order to frighten the opponent, whom he could not confute. But, he had miſtaken modeſty for cowardice. And, he only called out the fortitude of Ruddiman to demand: "Am I to "fear, when after one *rebellion* is quaſhed, I "have the courage to defend what I before ſaid, "to give countenance to another, as he falſely

(*g*) See the Edinburgh Britiſh Magazine, 1747, for two papers, in ſupport of Logan; and the Scots Magazine, 1748, p. 61, 62, 65, 271, 339, 64; and the Scots Mag. 1749, p. 578. The *Review of the Controverſy*, which was publiſhed, in the Edin. Brit. Mag. 1747, was ſuppoſed by Ruddiman to have been written by Mr. Paton of Pittenweem. [MS. note on Burman's *Lucan*.]

" repreſents me? Moſt of my annotations on " Buchanan were written, before there was any " appearance of *rebellion*, [1715], and had no " other view, but to declare what I then did, and " ſtill do take to be real truths: The liberty of " the preſs is one of the great privileges of the " late Revolution; but is that liberty confined to " one party only, and not allowed to another? " Muſt one ſet of men have the liberty of pouring " forth perpetual reproaches againſt our former " kings, and ſhall not another have the ſame li- " berty of defending them? Is it commendable " in a Scotſman to write againſt the ancient con- " ſtitution of his own nation, and run down the " independence of it? and is it a fault in others " to maintain the dignity of both?" (*b*) In this ſpirit, Ruddiman produced, in May 1748, his *Diſſertation, concerning the Competition for the Crown of Scotland, between Lord Robert Bruce, and Lord John Baliol, in the year* 1291. (*i*)

In this elaborate diſſertation, Ruddiman endeavoured to prove, " that by the laws of God, " and nature; by the civil, and feudal, laws; " and particularly by the fundimental conſtitution " of Scotland, the right of Robert Bruce was " preferable to the pretenſions of John Baliol." To this arduous inquiry he added an Appendix;

(*b*) See the preface to Ruddiman's Anſwer to Logan, p. 8.

(*i*) This tract was printed, at Edinburgh by T. and W. Ruddiman, 1748, and contains 123 octavo pages.

" de-

" demonſtrating, that the claim, which is ſaid to " have been made to the crown of Scotland, by " William, the firſt Earl of Douglas, 1371, is " without foundation."

It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a ſcholar as Ruddiman, who lived in a law-library, who poſſeſſed a retentive memory, a vigorous intellect, and extenſive erudition, would produce a treatiſe, which had been matured by thought, elaborated by diligence, and illuminated with learning. Yet, in taking a wide compaſs of enquiry, he appears to have departed a little from his uſual judgment. By running into devious paths, he offered opportunities to his opponents, of which they took inſidious advantage. By attempting, in his ardour of loyalty, and exuberance of knowledge, to do much, he did leſs than he might have done. It was unneceſſary to prove the right of Bruce, from the laws of God, and nature, from the civil, and feudal, laws: it had been ſufficient to ſhow, that the title of Bruce was preferable to the claim of Baliol, according to the fundamental conſtitution of Scotland.

The truth is, as he himſelf ingenuouſly admits, (*j*) that truſting too much to Boece, Leſly, and Buchanan, who give an account of the law of Kenneth III. whereby, as they pretend, that monarch, who began to reign in 970, regulated the

(*j*) Diſſertation, p. 43.

ſucceſſion to the crown, *he ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by them:* Yet, he at laſt truſted to Fordun, whom he calls the moſt ancient, and credible, hiſtorian of Scotland, and was equally miſled by him. Kenneth III. never eſtabliſhed any law, for regulating the deſcent of the crown, though Fordun, and his copyiſts, aſſert that he did. (*k*) But, what are *aſſertions* when oppoſed by *facts!* The hiſtorians neither quote any authority, nor had any document to quote, when they ſpeak of this legiſlative act of Kenneth, which, as its exiſtence is inconſiſtent with probability, is not to be acknowledged, without the moſt indubitable proof.

On the other ſide of this curious queſtion, it may be clearly ſhown, that the uniform practice has been in direct oppoſition to the ſuppoſed rule. Kenneth, who united the monarchy about the year 840, was ſucceeded by his brother Donald, in preference to his ſon Conſtantine. Ethus and Gregory both ſucceeded to the crown, before the acceſſion of Donald, the ſon of Conſtantine. Malcolm, the firſt, the ſon of Donald,

(*k*) It was properly remarked, by the late Lord Hailes, "That the competitors for the Scottiſh crown, in 1291, never "appealed to the laws of Kenneth." From their ſilence, on that occaſion, his lordſhip very juſtly inferred, that *the fiction*, with regard to thoſe laws, did not, at that early period, exiſt, in the hiſtory of Scotland. [Annals, vol. 1. p. 217-18.]

was poſtponed to Conſtantine, the third. And Indulph ſucceeded this Conſtantine, in preference to Duff, the ſon of Malcolm, who was followed by Culene, the ſon of Indulph. At the end of this long courſe of demiſes, and preferments, in which we ſee the ſon never ſucceeded to the father, we behold Kenneth III. aſſume the government in 970, (*l*) who is ſaid to have regulated the deſcent of the crown. Yet, he was not ſucceeded by his ſons Grime, or Malcolm II. but by Conſtantine, the ſon of Culene. Malcolm II. was ſucceeded, in 1034, by his grandſon, the *gracious* Duncan, who was aſſaſſinated by the *worthy* Macbeth, in 1039. Malcolm, Canmore, acquired the crown, in 1057, after the death of Macbeth. And, in 1093, Malcolm, Canmore, was ſucceeded by his brother Donald, and by his baſtard ſon, Duncan, before the acceſſion of Edgar, his legitimate ſon, in 1097. Thoſe indubitable facts exhibit a genuine picture of the Caledonian conſtitution, in thoſe *good old times*, when few of the Caledonian Kings died quietly in their beds; and when the right of repreſentation either of the grandſon, or the ſon, was unknown, in the uniform practice of the country. (*m*)

I have

(*l*) See Leſley, De Reb. Geſt. Scot. edit. 1578. Stemma iiii. lib. 4. and Innes's Crit. Eſſay, vol. 2. the Appendix, No. 4, and 5.

(*m*) "The proper anſwer," ſays Lord Hailes, An. vol. 1. p. 217, "to the examples from the hiſtory of Scotland,

I have ſtated thoſe facts, and that practice, in order to ſhow, that the law of Kenneth, which has been ſo often mentioned by hiſtory, with goſſiping credulity, like the Macalpine laws, is altogether a fiction. Donald, the brother of Kenneth III. and Donald, the brother of Malcolm III. ſucceeded, as many of their predeceſſors had done, in preference to their nephews, according to the ancient conſtitution of the Caledonian regions. This conſtitution, licentious as it was in its principle, and violent in its effects, continued to ſhed its baneful influence on Scotland, even to the period of the competition between Bruce and Baliol. And, under this conſtitution, the right of Bruce, who was the neareſt in blood to the royal ſtock, was preferable to the claim of Baliol, who was one ſtep more remote.

" where the uncle excluded the nephew, ſeems to be this, " that *they were uſurpations.*" I lament, that I ſhould be obliged to controvert the opinions of Lord Hailes, for whoſe perſon I had a juſt eſteem, and for whoſe memory I have a ſincere reſpect. But, I muſt be permitted to obſerve, that in reaſoning, it is very ſophiſtical to take for granted the very point, which ought to be proved: and, in argument, it is moſt illogical to ſuppoſe a conſtitutional principle to exiſt, in oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed practice: for, what is the common law of a country, but the common uſage of the ſame country? and what is the common uſage, but the uſual practice? Now, the examples before mentioned, from the hiſtory of Scotland, are the beſt proofs of the common uſage, of the violence of the times, and of the feebleneſs of the government.

This

This light, however, did not ſtrike the eyes of Ruddiman: his attention had been carried off to other objects. He ſaw, indeed, what he endeavoured to make others ſee, that *maſculinity* gave Bruce the preference to Dervorgilla, the mother of Baliol. And, in order to clear away all obſcurities, he referred to the act of ſettlement of the crown, in 1318, which proved that, in the judgment of parliament, the right of ſucceſſion, according to the ancient conſtitution, belonged to the next heir male, in caſe of failure of the right line.

Ruddiman, however, relied on two arguments, which, in this controverſy, had chiefly determined his judgment, though they be not altogether deciſive. He inſiſted *firſt*, that two ſucceſſive Kings, Alexander II. and Alexander III. had recognized Robert Bruce, the competitor, as their rightful heir: *ſecondly*, that the clergy, nobility, freeholders, and the whole community, declared ſolemnly, that the right to the crown did belong to Bruce, the competitor, then to his ſon Robert, the Earl of Carrick, and laſtly to Robert, the illuſtrious hero, who was crowned at Scone, on the 27th of March 1306. On this ſecond argument, Logan and Ruddiman might have joined iſſue. They might have both admitted, that amidſt that uncertainty of law, and thoſe violences of faction, the beſt right of Bruce

was

was the parliamentary ſettlement of the crown on his family.

Here, Ruddiman might have cloſed his proofs. But, a deſire, of ſecuring his poſitions againſt the attacks of the enemy, induced him to ſhew, by elaborate inveſtigation, that the right of repreſentation had not then taken place, as to the deſcent of the crown, whatever it might have done, as to private inheritances. He was thence led to recollect, that Bruce, the competitor, had contended with the manlineſs of the Bruces, that the right to the crown ought not to be decided by the ſame rules, which direct the deſcent of private inheritances. It is a curious remark, in the hiſtory of *mind*, that this reaſoning of Bruce is the ſame, which enabled the late Mr. Juſtice Foſter to rectify ſome miſconceptions of the great Lord Chief Juſtice Hale, with regard to the diſpute, between the rival houſes of York and Lancaſter. Had Ruddiman advanced only another ſtep, by conſidering government as *a truſt*, which muſt be ſubject to the maxims, that regulate truſts, his triumph over his antagoniſts had been more compleat. When preſſed in the combat, indeed, the good ſenſe of Ruddiman induced him to acknowledge, that the deſcent of the crown is defeaſible, by ſome urgent neceſſity, which muſt, however, limit the time, denote the circumſtances, and warrant the extent, of a *revolution*.

Once

Once in a thouſand years, I admit, ſaid Ruddiman, neceſſity may produce, and juſtify, *a revolution*, which ought to be conſidered as an exception to all rules, and as an anomaly from all conſtitutions: but, your principles, ſaid he to his antagoniſts, lead you to accompliſh, and defend, *a revolution*, on any petty occaſion, once a year, once a month, or once a week, at whatever danger of civil war, at whatever certainty of general anarchy, at whatever riſque of private happineſs. In treating of the revolution in 1688, Blackſtone, with the good ſenſe of Ruddiman, left it to ſtand on its own foundation, and to be juſtified by its own neceſſity. When, among wiſe men, the *fact* of a *neceſſity* is once admitted, the *juſtification* follows, as a *conſequence*, without inventing any fiction, without propagating any falſehood, and without teaching any abſurdity.

Ruddiman, at length, took leave of Logan, his pertinacious antagoniſt, though Logan did not take leave of him. "I will betake myſelf," ſaid our learned diſſertator, at the age of ſeventy-five, "to buſineſs more ſuitable to one of my "years, and inclinations."

Neither the ſuperiority of Ruddiman, nor his wiſh to retire from the altercation of conteſt to the *buſineſs* of his age and *inclination*, made the leaſt impreſſion on the pervicacity of Logan, whoſe zeal of factiouſneſs, and affectation of authorſhip,

thorſhip, were unbounded. And, in February 1749, he made a freſh aſſault on Ruddiman, with a *Second Finiſhing Stroke*, which muſt be allowed to be equal to the firſt, in promiſing demonſtrations, that were never accompliſhed.

His impatience was, however, as great as his pertinacity. Without waiting for the comfort of an anſwer, Logan ſent out, in April 1749, *a Letter to Ruddiman*; (*n*) in which, "the doctrine "of the jure-divino-ſhip of hereditary, indefea- "ſible, monarchy, is inquired into, and explod- "ed." Logan's ardour of diſputation urged him, at length, to regard

"The quiet life as in the dale below."

And, his impatience produced, in May 1749, a *ſecond Letter* to Ruddiman; (*o*) "vindi- "cating Alexander Henderſon, the miniſter "of Edinburgh, from the aſperſions of Rud- "diman, Sage, and other high-flying writers, "as guilty of injuries to King Charles I. and "as repenting of his management of public "affairs, from the year 1638, till his death, "Auguſt 12th, 1647." Such is Logan's inaccuracy, amidſt his impatience, and his haſte, that in his *title page* he ſends Henderſon to the grave, in 1647, though the monumental inſcription, which he appended to his tract, demonſtrates, that famous covenanter to have eſcaped from

(*n*) Scots Mag. 1749. p. 208.

(*o*) Ib. p. 256.

the

the troubles of the covenant, in the year 1646. (*p*).

Ruddiman

(*p*) The following enumeration exhibits a compleat view of the ſix treatiſes of Logan againſt Ruddiman: 1. "A Trea-" tiſe on Government; ſhewing that the Right of the Kings " of Scotland to the Crown was not ſtrictly and abſolutely " hereditary," &c. Edinburgh, 1746, 8vo. pp. 186.

2. "A Second Treatiſe on Government; ſhewing that " the Right to the Crown of Scotland was not hereditary, " in the Senſe of Jacobites," Edinburgh, 1747, 8vo. pp. 160.

To theſe he added, in May 1748, 3. "The finiſhing Stroke: or Mr. Ruddiman ſelf-condemned; being a Reply to Mr. Ruddiman's Anſwer to (only) Mr. Logan's firſt Treatiſe on Government, in two parts.—The firſt demonſtrates, that the right of the Kings of Scotland to the crown was not ſtrictly and abſolutely hereditary.—Firſt, from the ſucceſſion of Robert Stewart, to the excluſion of the deſcendants of John Baliol, who had the preferable right.—Secondly, from the ſucceſſion of Robert Stewart, contrary to the juſt claim of William Earl of Douglas.—The ſecond part demonſtrates, that the right of our Kings to the crown of Scotland was not ſtrictly and abſolutely hereditary, from the ſucceſſion of Robert III. who was begotten out of lawful marriage." Edinburgh: printed by R. Fleming; and ſold by the book-ſellers here, and at Glaſgow, 1748, 8vo. pp. 168.

4. "The finiſhing Stroke: or Mr. Ruddiman more ſelf-condemned, part 2d; ſhewing the hiſtory and myſtery of a long ſeries of deceitful and unfair management with reſpect to two acts of parliament, anno 1371, and 1373, and the Pariſian Charter, anno 1364: and demonſtrating that the right to the crown of Scotland was not hereditary, in a ſtrict ſenſe, from the ſucceſſion of Robert III. begotten and born out of lawful marriage. By Mr. George Logan, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh." Edinburgh: printed by R. Flem-

ing;

Ruddiman had already relinquiſhed Logan to the pains, or to the pleaſures, of his own reſtleſſneſs. "As that author," ſaid our grammarian, (q) "in the fierce attacks, which, without

ing; and ſold by the bookſellers there, and at Glaſgow, 1748, 8vo, pp. 175.

5. "The Doctrine of the Jure-divino-ſhip of Hereditary Indefeaſible Monarchy enquired into, and exploded, in a Letter to Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, principal keeper of the Lawyers Library in Edinburgh, from Mr. George Logan, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh." Edinburgh: printed by Thomas Lumiſden and Co.; and ſold by the bookſellers in town and country, 1749, 8vo, pp. 114.

6. "A ſecond Letter from Mr. George Logan, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, to Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, principal keeper of the Lawyers Library there. Vindicating the celebrated Mr. Alexander Henderſon, miniſter at Edinburgh, and rector of the college, who had been moderator of the famous national aſſemblies of the Church of Scotland, in the years 1638, 1641, and 1643, and one of the commiſſioners of this church, to the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter; from the vile aſperſions caſt upon him by Meſſieurs Sage and Ruddiman, and other high-flying writers, as guilty of great injuries done by him to King Charles I. and as repenting of his conduct and management in public affairs, from the year 1638, till his death, Auguſt 12, 1647. With an Appendix, containing the letters that paſſed betwixt the King's Majeſty and the above Mr. Henderſon, at Newcaſtle, being rare to be had; and the inſcriptions on his monument, in the Grayfriars Church Yard." Edinburgh: printed by Thomas Lumiſden and Co.; and ſold by Meſſieurs Hamilton and Balfour, and other bookſellers there, and at Glaſgow, 1749, 8vo, pp. 173.

(q) In his *Animadverſions on Love's Vindication* of Buchanan, p. 32.

"provocation,

" provocation, he has made on me, in no leſs than " *ſix pretty large treatiſes*, has laid aſide all regard, " not only to common decency, but to demon- " ſtrative truth, I reſolved to give up all further " altercations with him, as they could anſwer " no end." Yet, Ruddiman affected to ſubmit the whole controverſy to ſuch arbitrators, as Logan himſelf ſhould chooſe, provided they were perſons of common ſenſe, and common honeſty; and if they ſhould find our grammarian guilty of one inconſiſtency, however many had been imputed to him, Ruddiman was content to be deemed a perſon of no character, and what was the worſt, which could be imputed to him, that as a writer, he was leſs to be credited, than Logan.

In this ſarcaſtic tone, did Ruddiman cloſe the controverſy, which, as it had begun, without adequate cauſe, may be ſaid to have cloſed, with laſting diſcredit to his antagoniſt, who perſevered in diſputation, though he neither gave pleaſure to his friends, nor furniſhed edification to the world. George Logan died, at Edinburgh, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, on the 13th of October 1755. (*r*) To the character of Logan, which may be collected from the foregoing review of his conteſt with Ruddiman, I am able to add from the information of the late Sir David Dalrymple,

(*r*) Scots Mag. 1755. p. 461.

" that

" that if Mr. Logan ever was poſſeſt of abilities, " he had loſt them, before he engaged in the " diſpute with Ruddiman. I have read," continued Sir David, " a manuſcript work, which " Mr. Logan ſhewed me, concerning Gowrie's " conſpiracy: it gave me a very mean opinion, " indeed, of his critical talents." It was plainly the diſhoneſt purpoſe of Logan to vindicate the fictions, and to propagate the falſehoods, of faction, which had contaminated the Scottiſh annals, from the epoch of party to his own day. But, we have lived to ſee, that ſuch fictions can be no longer vindicated, and that ſuch falſehoods can be no more ſafely ſpread. Political prudence now requires, that forgeries ſhould be ſilently relinquiſhed, fictions quietly ſuppreſſed, and falſehoods honeſtly contemned. Happy for his own fame, had Logan practically regarded the poetical precept:

" He acts the third crime, that defends the firſt."

But, the labours of Ruddiman did not end, when the pen dropt from the enfeebled hand of Logan. John Love, his former friend, was induced, by honeſt zeal, I believe, to publiſh, in May 1749, *A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan.* (s) Love now endeavoured, with more acuteneſs, than efficacy, to vindicate Buchanan, in part *the firſt*, " from the vile aſperſion caſt on

(s) It was printed at Edinburgh, by Thomas Lumiſden and Co. 1749, 8vo, pp. 93.

" him

" him by Camden, that he repented, when " dying, of what he wrote againſt Mary, Queen " of Scots, which falſehood has been ſince re- " tailed by Meſſrs. Sage, and Ruddiman;" and, in part *the ſecond*, " from the horrible ingratitude, " he is charged with to Queen Mary, in extol- " ling her ſo high, in the dedication of his Pſalms, " and thereafter writing ſo bitterly againſt her, " in the Detection, and Hiſtory."

In this manner, was Ruddiman aſſaulted, at once, in his character, as a man, and in his prejudices, as a politician. After the numberleſs treatiſes, which had been publiſhed againſt him, during ſeveral years, he little expected a premeditated attack from an ancient ally. And, he thought himſelf obliged to riſe up, in his own defence, at the age of ſeventy-five; as it " gave " him an opportunity to clear up ſome matters " of fact, relating to our hiſtory, which this au- " thor had very much miſrepreſented." Ruddiman was, by theſe *means*, again forced out into warfare, in July 1749, with his *Animadverſions on a late Pamphlet*, entitled, *A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan.* (*t*)

In this conteſt, between Ruddiman and Love, appear the unnatural diverſities of civil war. In it, we ſee two vindicators of Buchanan, who had each written his *Vindication*, though upon very

(*t*) It was printed at Edinburgh, by T. and W. Ruddimans, 1749, 8vo, pp. 110.

diſſimilar principles, engaged in vigorous hoſtility. Love opened his performance with a lofty encomium on Buchanan, as if his extraordinary genius, as a poet, and excellent talents, as a ſcholar, which his enemies never denied him, were ſufficient to atone for his manifold defects, as a man. Partly from political prejudice, but chiefly from over-weening conceit of his darling author, Love conſidered him as abſolutely perfect, and expreſſed his indignation, that Buchanan ſhould have been accuſed of the minuteſt fault, far leſs of repentance for political ſins, or of ingratitude for royal favours. On the other hand, Ruddiman juſtified that part of Buchanan's character, in which he thought him injured; but, as a lover of truth, blamed him for thoſe faults, which merited blame. Ruddiman vindicated Buchanan, as an admirable poet, and as an excellent writer; yet, condemned him, as an hiſtorian, who threw out reproaches againſt his ſovereign, and benefactreſs, inſtead of recording truth, and of teaching morals.

With regard to the repentance of Buchanan, a diſpute aroſe, ſoon after his death, among the learned, which was, in 1749, revived by Love; and which has continued to intereſt inquiſitive men, even to the preſent day. (*u*) Without

(*u*) In Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication of Queen Mary*, vol. 3. p. 441-50, there is a moſt able argument to prove *the repentance of Buchanan.* But, the moſt powerful argument muſt give way before oppoſing facts.

con-

conſidering minutely the arguments of the ſeveral diſputants, we may form a concluſion ſufficiently accurate, by attending to the evidence of facts, rather than to the ſuggeſtions of ſyſtem.

Camden recorded, in his Annals, with his uſual circumſpection, as a circumſtance, which *he had heard* and believed, that Buchanan, on his death-bed, had expreſſed his remorſe, and avowed his repentance, for his injurious treatment of Queen Mary. On the other hand, James Melvil, the profeſſor of theology, at St. Andrew's, who viſited Buchanan, during the month, in which he died, wrote, in his Diary, Buchanan's defiance of King James, rather than repentance for the wrongs, that he had done to Queen Mary. (*x*) If it were a queſtion, which of the two witneſſes ought to be believed, it could admit of little doubt, that Camden is entitled to moſt credit; becauſe he had more judgment, and leſs prejudice, than Melvil. But, Camden only recorded what he had heard from others. Melvil wrote what he had heard himſelf. It was this conſideration, which induced the good ſenſe of Ruddiman, after he had reviewed his own preconceptions, and weighed all circumſtances, to acknowledge, "that if what "Melvil ſays of Buchanan, in leſs than a month "before his death, be true, he ſeems never to

(*x*) Man's Animad. on Ruddiman, p. 55.

probable, that Buchanan, at the hour of his death, was hardened in error, confident in falſhood, and adverſe from repentance.

The reſult of the inquiry, with regard to this firſt head of the Vindication, ſeems to be rather favourable to Love, whoſe political zeal did not, however, enable him to place it in the moſt advantageous light. Ruddiman affected to retract his former opinion of Buchanan's repentance. "But, "alas!" ſaid he, "what will his admirers gain "by this conceſſion? only, that they make him "die an impenitent ſinner; and rather than his "reputation, or their own cauſe, ſhould ſuffer, "in this world, they chooſe *(horreſco referens!)* "to let him drop into the next:"

No reckoning made, but ſent to his account,
With all his imperfections on his head.

By

Buchanan to the houſe of Arbuthnot, who was then printing *his hiſtory*. The printer had advanced to the end of the 17th book, which treats of the aſſaſſination of Rizzio. Returning to Buchanan, they found him in bed; *even going the way of weil-fare*. His couſin ſhewed him *the hardneſs of that part of the ſtory*; that the King would be offended at it, and this might ſtay the work. *Tell me*, ſaid Buchanan, *if I have told the truth? Yes*; ſaid his couſin, *I think ſo: Then*, quoth Buchanan, *I will bide his fead and all his kin's*. [James Melvil's Diary in Man's Animad. on Ruddiman, p. 51-53.] See Ruddiman's Gloſſary to Douglas's Virgil, for the word *fead*. "Feid, fede, feyde; feud, hatred, quarrel: ab Ang. Sax. "*Faehth*, Belg. Weede, factio, inimicitia, ſimultas, odium; "Teut. *Fehd*, bellum, Skinner." This was, no doubt, bravely ſaid by Buchanan, while the young King was in the hands of rebels.

By taking this wide range of inquiry, we are conducted naturally to the *ſecond head*; with reſpect to *Buchanan's ingratitude.* Every ſtep, which his vindicator now takes, is oppoſed by ſome difficulty; and, the farther he advances, the more effectually is he obſtructed, by the authentic facts, that Ruddiman continually throws in his way. Ruddiman mentions with ſatisfaction, that from his own writings, his antagoniſt could not produce a ſingle paſſage, in which the word *ingrate*, or *ingratitude*, is to be found, as applied to Buchanan. He had, indeed, mentioned favours, which Queen Mary had conferred on Buchanan; and for which, if he made unworthy returns, the conſequence was apparent, without the ſuggeſtion of criticiſm, that the perſon obliged had made an ungrateful return.

Experience had convinced the judgment of Ruddiman, how impolitic it was, when engaged in a conteſt of captiouſneſs, to dwell on doubtful topicks. After mentioning various favours, which Queen Mary had conferred on Buchanan, while he was poor, and friendleſs, he produced from the records, for the firſt time, (*b*) Queen Mary's grant, which was dated the 9th of October 1564, of a penſion for life, of five hundred pounds,

(*b*) The *Letter of Privy-Seal* is printed, in the Appendix to Ruddiman's *Animadverſions*, No. 1. My induſtrious friend, William Robertſon of the Regiſter-Houſe, at Edinburgh, lately found, in the *Privy-Seal Record*, the ſame grant of an annual penſion to Buchanan.

Scots, to Buchanan. If, to make a needy poet independent, be an obligation, Mary had, by this gift, conferred ſuch a favour on Buchanan, as required, if not active remuneration, at leaſt, quieſcent thankfulneſs. With that incontrovertible document, Ruddiman cloſed his proof. And, with two-edged irony remarked: "I ſee "no other way left to his vindicator, for clearing Buchanan from the blot of ingratitude, but, "in imitation of his friend Logan, who charges "every charter, which is brought againſt him, "with impoſture, to deny this writ of privy-ſeal "to be a genuine deed."

If it were not that, the ſpeculum of bigotry reverſes every object, Love had, indeed, ſeen, in the Collections (*c*) of Anderſon, which he often quotes with approbation, the plaineſt demonſtrations of Buchanan's knavery, and the fulleſt proof of his ingratitude. Yet, in this mirrour, Love can ſee none of Mary's favours to Buchanan. But, in it, he perceives, "That the Latin copy "of the Detection is not Buchanan's, but a tranſ-"lation from the French; and has nothing of "the elegance of Buchanan's diction, and has "beſides many *Galliciſms*." The prejudice of Love, in diſputing what the title page had proved, and the whole world acknowledged, gave his opponent an opportunity of triumph, which he improved with judgment. Where has this Ariſ-

(*c*) Vol. 2. p. 1. and 261; and vol. 4. part 2. p. 58-62.

tarchus,

tarchus, ſaid Ruddiman, acquired his wonderous ſkill, in judging of the purity of Latin performances? So far do I, who pretend to ſome knowledge, in that matter, differ from this vindicator, that I am fully perſuaded, not only, that Buchanan was the author of the *Detection*, but that for purity, and elegance, it is inferior to nothing, which he ever wrote. And, Buchanan, who was the proper judge both of the authorſhip, and the Latinity, has inſerted in his *Hiſtory* whole paſſages, word for word, which are to be found in his *Detection*. With the moſt cutting irony, Ruddiman adviſed his antagoniſt, before he aſſume airs of ſuperiority, to read Henry Stephens's treatiſe *De Latinitate falsò ſuſpecta*, (*d*) wherein this celebrated writer ſhews, that many phraſes, which ſome have miſtaken for undoubted Galliciſms, are to be found, in claſſic authors. In this manner, did the two grammarians, with true grammatical pertinence, argue the queſtion of *Buchanan's ingratitude*, which, in the ſequel, will be more amply diſcuſſed.

The diſputants diverged incidentally to other topicks, which were not wholly irrelative either to the vindication, or to the guilt of, Buchanan. Love had joined Logan, and the aſſociated critics, as an ally, in their warfare againſt Ruddiman; and being actuated by their bigotry, conducted hoſti-

(*d*) It was printed by Henry Stephens, 1575, 12mo.

lities

lities upon their principles, and fought with their weapons. "After the laudable cuſtom of the par-"ty," ſays Ruddiman, "as Buchanan had railed "at the mother, ſo does this author at her ſon," by denying the truth of Gowrie's conſpiracy againſt King James, and by turning it into a conſpiracy of the King againſt the Earl of Gowrie.

The concerted treaſon, which John, the Earl of Gowrie, the ſon of that Earl of Gowrie, who had ſeized the King, in 1582, the grandſon of that Lord Ruthven, who had aſſaſſinated Rizzio, in 1566, perpetrated againſt King James, on the 5th of Auguſt 1600, is one of thoſe remarkable incidents in the Scottiſh Annals, which, by dividing the parties of Scotland, has furniſhed a topick of diſputation, even to the preſent hour. A narrative of that conſpiracy was immediately publiſhed, by the King's authority, if it were not written by the King's hand. The eccleſiaſtics of Edinburgh not only denied the truth of the plot, but charged it as a conſpiracy of the King againſt the Earl. In November 1600, Gowrie's heirs were ſummoned before the parliament, in order to oppoſe the attainder, which was about to paſs againſt their predeceſſor, who was, on that occcaſion, accuſed of treaſon. The charge was proved, by one-and-thirty witneſſes, who, with the Duke of Lenox, at their head, being actors in the tragedy, had ſeen what they related. From their teſtimony, it clearly appeared, that Alexander Ruthven,

the Earl's brother, had by his perſuaſion, inveigled the King, from his ſport at Falkland, to the Earl's caſtle at Perth, where they attempted to ſeize his perſon, whatever might have been their ultimate purpoſe. On the other hand, no circumſtance, either of excuſe, or of explanation, was adduced in defence of Gowrie. The parliament found him guilty. But, the kirkmen were not yet convinced. On the one ſide, there was the moſt ſatisfactory evidence of a plot by Gowrie againſt the King: on the other ſide, there was not then, nor is there now, any evidence of an attempt by the King againſt Gowrie. (*e*)

(*e*) He, who wiſhes to form an accurate judgment, with regard to this plot of Gowrie, independent of party prejudices, let him read, not ſo much *The Hiſtorical Account of this Conſpiracy, by the Earl of Cromarty*, as *the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes*, which were printed by his lordſhip in the *words as they were written* at the time: add to this, what is ſaid by Arnot, in his *Criminal Trials*, p. 20-60, with great preciſion of thought, and clearneſs of language. And, ſee the APPENDIX, No. 7, two letters, which I found, in the paper-office, on this ſubject: The 1ſt is a letter from Nicholſon, Queen Elizabeth's ambaſſador in Scotland, to Sir Robert Cecil, her ſecretary of ſtate; the ſecond letter is from Lord Willoughby, the Queen's governor of Berwick, to the ſame miniſter. Theſe two letters, I ſubmit to the reader, as ſatisfactory evidence, *that Queen Elizabeth had no concern with Gowrie's plot*, in 1600, whatever ſhe may have had with Gowrie's treaſon, in 1582. And, theſe two letters, which are at once very curious, and very convincing, completely confute the general inference, which the late hiſtoriographer Dr. Robertſon endeavoured to inculcate, from very dubious circumſtances, with more ſubtility than deciſiveneſs.

An

An event occurred, in 1608, which more clearly evinced the premeditated treaſon of the earl againſt the king, though this truth had been ſatisfactorily proved to all, who were capable of argument, eight years before. One Sprot, a notary, diſcovered, in an evil hour for his own ſafety, that he had known, though he had not revealed, the part, which Logan of Reſtalrig had acted, in this unaccountable plot. Sprot honeſtly told all that he knew, diſcloſed Logan's epiſtolary correſpondence with Gowrie, which he had long concealed: and being found guilty of miſprifion, he was executed for the crime. The ſon of Logan was ſummoned to defend the innocence of his father. The authenticity of the letters, which, it had been the purpoſe of the writer to deſtroy, becauſe they might have endangered his life, was now eſtabliſhed by intelligent witneſſes. And thoſe letters, which had been ſo wonderfully found, and ſo clearly authenticated, proved a conſpiracy on the part of Gowrie, and a concert on the ſide of Logan. For the information of the world, the examinations, arraignment, and conviction of Sprot, with the letters of Logan, were publiſhed, in 1609, (*f*) by Abbot, the Dean of Wincheſter, who roſe to be Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

Yet, neither the ſectaries, in the kirk, nor the

(*f*) This tract was printed, at London, by Melch. Bradwood, for William Apſley, 4to. pp. 60.

fanatics,

fanatics, in the ſtate, were convinced of the truth of Gowrie's conſpiracy! At the end of a century of diſbelief, and diſputation, the Earl of Cromarty publiſhed, in 1713, from the records of which he was the keeper, "An Hiſtorical Account of the Conſpiracies by the Earls of Gowrie and Robert Logan of Reſtalrig, againſt King James VI.;" to which he appended the depoſitions and letters, *in the words as they were then written and ſpoke.* This publication, however, did not produce conviction, at leaſt did not obtain acquieſcence. And, the Earl of Cromarty printed, in 1714, *A Vindication of his Hiſtorical Account*, without bringing to ſhame the abſurdity of faction, or making much impreſſion on the obſtinacy of zeal. George Logan, while he was in the habit of contradicting records, and controverting facts, wrote, as we may remember, a diſſertation to diſprove Gowrie's conſpiracy. And Love, while he was buſy, in vindicating Buchanan from the charge of ingratitude to Queen Mary, came forward with diſreputable confidence, "to turn that myſterious plot into a conſpiracy of King James againſt the Earl of Gowrie."

Ruddiman cloſed the controverſy by ſaying, what was repeated by Arnot, (*g*) with greater force, that if the Earl of Gowrie were not

(*g*) Criminal Trials, p. 60.

proved

proved to be guilty, by the evidence, which the Earl of Cromarty had publiſhed, and which is all the proof that ſuch a fact admits, we can hardly be ſure, that ſuch an earl ever exiſted.

In reviewing the conteſts, (*b*) between Ruddiman

(*b*) The reader, who is curious to ſee Ruddiman's private opinion with regard to his antagoniſts, and the ſubjects in debate, may be gratified by the following extract of a letter from our grammarian to the Right Reverend Biſhop Falconer, dated the 17th of October 1751:—

"I am very much obliged to you, good ſir, for the favour-"able opinion you ſhew of the treatiſes, I have been obliged "to write, in defence of that ſide of the controverſie, I have "been engaged in. In the firſt of them, I had the good "luck to have to do with an antagoniſt, that knew nothing "of the matter, he was about; and who diſcovers all along "ſuch a groſs ignorance, and abſurd reaſoning, that are "hardly to be met with, in any other author; which, though "it ſwelled my book to too large a ſize, yet made my taſk "otherwiſe very eaſy, though at the ſame time it procured "me no ſmall obloquy and reproach from the bigots of the "party, who have attacked me from ſeveral quarters on that "account.

"The ſecond, though of a ſmall ſize, coſt me more pains: "it concerns the diſpute between the Bruce and Baliol; and "though I ſay it, I think I have put that matter in a clearer "light than any has done before me; at leaſt, I have de-"monſtrated, that no argument can be formed from it "againſt the hereditary ſucceſſion of our kings, and for "eſtabliſhing the breach made upon it at the late revolu-"tion. My third piece, which I know not if you have ſeen, "concerned Buchanan's repentance for the injuries he had "done our Queen Mary, in his Hiſtory and Detection, and "his ingratitude to that princeſs for the favours he had re-"ceived

diman and his antagoniſts, which, as they have contributed to eſtabliſh the truth, can hardly be regretted, there appears this remarkable diverſity.—Our grammarian is diligent to produce documents, to adjuſt dates, and to aſcertain facts, that hiſtorians have often appropriated, as their own, without acknowledging obligations to their diligent precurſor. (*i*) The opponents of Ruddiman, whether from ignorance of the nature of evidence, or from incapacity to diſtinguiſh the

" ceived from her. I had wrote nothing directly of the " one, or the other, and they were my adverſaries, and not " I, who brought that matter on the carpet; nor would I " have concerned myſelf, in the affair, had I not from that " taken occaſion, to bring ſome ſingular proofs, and docu- " ments, for vindicating our Queen Mary, from the vile re- " proaches, thrown upon her by that rebellious faction, who " dethroned her, as alſo of Buchanan's monſtrous ingratitude " to her."

(*i*) It was Ruddiman (for example), who firſt aſcertained the date of the demiſe of David II. to have been on the 22d of February 1370-71, which had been egregiouſly miſtaken by hiſtorians. See Ruddiman's accurate note on Sage's Introduction to Drummond's Works, p. 36-7. Goodal had the judgment to adopt this date into his note. Goodal's Fordun, vol. 2. p. 380. Sir David Dalrymple referred, in his Annals, vol. 2. p. 265, to Fordun, for the true date of that demiſe. Subſequent writers have referred to Sir David's Annals for the fact. Yet, all this while, Ruddiman was entitled to the merit of being the firſt diſcoverer. To Ruddiman, hiſtory owes many obligations of a ſimilar kind, without the virtue to acknowledge what ſhe was indebted to his acuteneſs, and his induſtry.

beauties

beauties of truth, from the deformities of falſe-hood, are only active, in decrying petty faults, or in detracting from their antagoniſt's princi-ples, without ſearching the archives, wherein facts had been found, or looking ſteadily on the antiquities of their country, which had given them new views of their ſubject.

It was the opinion, however, of the late Lord Auchinleck, (*k*) "that Ruddiman did not under-"ſtand the ſubjects of Scottiſh hiſtory, on which "he wrote; but that Logan underſtood them ſtill "leſs;" ſaying, in his jocoſe manner, "that "their conteſt was a battle in the dark." (*l*) But, of ſuch looſe declarations, there is no end, and little uſe! If Ruddiman did not underſtand the hiſtory of Scotland, who did? He certainly ſought for hiſtorical knowledge, at the fountain head of charters, and of coins. They, however, who wiſh to form a judgment of him, as an hiſtorian, not from their own prejudices, ſo much as from his labours, will plainly ſee, that he cul-tivated ſucceſsfully the garden of Scottiſh hiſtory; though it muſt be allowed, that, after all his ef-forts, many weeds remain, which are unſeemly to the ſight, and ungrateful to the ſmell.

(*k*) He was appointed a lord of ſeſſion, the 15th of Feb. 1754. [Lord Hailes's Catalogue, p. 17.]

(*l*) The late Lord Hailes's unpubliſhed letter to Lord Gardenſtone, dated the 14th of April 1790, which is in my poſſeſſion.

While

While engaged in the conteſts, which haraſſed his declining years, Ruddiman lived to ſee his opponents ſucceſſively drop into the grave. Love died, on the 20th. September 1750, at the premature age of fifty-five. (*n*) Love was certainly an eminent ſcholar, an excellent teacher, and a good man. But, he had allowed prejudice to ferment in his mind, till it ſoured into bigotry. And he was excited by ill-humour, which was inflamed by his uſual aſſociates, to ſacrifice his old friendſhip with Ruddiman to a fooliſh zeal for the character of Buchanan, as a man, which cannot be defended, rather than his fame, as a writer, which, had it required defence, Ruddiman had already vindicated, with greater effort, and ſuperior learning.

Neither domeſtic misfortunes, however, nor political altercations, prevented Ruddiman from giving his friendly aſſiſtance, in the mean time, to the literary inquiries of others. His regard

(*n*) In the *Caledonian Mercury* of the 24th of September 1750, Ruddiman had the liberality to publiſh the following character of Love, his antagoniſt:—"On Thurſday morning died, at Dalkeith, after a lingering illneſs, in the 55th year of his age, Mr. John Love, Rector of the Grammar School, there; who for his uncommon knowledge, in claſſical learning, his indefatigable diligence, and ſtrictneſs of diſcipline, without ſeverity, was juſtly accounted one of the moſt ſufficient maſters in this country." This character was admired by all, who ſaw in it the placability of Ruddiman, with regard to the ſcholar, who had firſt been his friend, yet, afterwards became his adverſary.

for the art of printing, and his attachment to the intereſts of letters, induced him to give aſſiduous help to the typographical reſearches of the late Joſeph Ames, who had the diligence, and modeſty, of Ruddiman, without his erudition, or judgment. When the *Typographical Antiquities* were at length publiſhed, in 1749, Ames gratefully (*o*) recorded the obligations, that he owed "to his worthy friend, Mr. *Profeſſor* Ruddiman, "who was no ſmall encourager of this under-"taking, by his many ſearches for me, at Edin-"burgh, and elſewhere." Though the ſearches of Ruddiman did not find all, that the records contained, with regard to the origin of printing, in Scotland, yet he merits commendation for his uſeful contributions to that curious work.

Ruddiman deſerves the greater praiſe, as his eyes had been extremely injured by thoſe reſearches. In October 1751, at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, he was obliged to aſk the aid of phyſicians for preſerving his ſight, which, however, they did not effect. Yet, this misfortune, that to a ſcholar cannot eaſily be ſupplied, did not prevent him from doing kind acts to his relations, and continuing his correſpondence with

(*o*) In p. 574. In the ſame page, he again mentions the uſeful aſſiſtance of his "good friend Mr. Thomas Ruddi-"man." This aſcertains the identity of the perſon, to whom he was obliged, and ſhows, that Ames was only miſtaken in calling his friend *Profeſſor* Ruddiman, who never was a *profeſſor*.

his

his friends; from purſuing his ſtudies, and producing, meantime, his edition of Livy, (*p*) which, Harwood declares, is one of the moſt accurate that ever was publiſhed. Glaſgow had to boaſt of the *ſpotleſs perfection* of her Horace, in 1744. Edinburgh had reaſon, ſaid that able critic, to triumph in the *immaculate purity* of Ruddiman's Livy, in 1751.

The deprivation of ſight brought with it other loſſes, beſides the retardation of his uſual labours, and the hindrance of his accuſtomed walks. Ruddiman had a ſpirit, too conſcientious, and too independent, to hold an office, which he could no longer execute. And, on the 7th of January 1752, he gave in a reſignation to the Faculty of Advocates of his charge as their librarian, which he had diligently executed for almoſt half a century. His letter of reſignation, he wrote in Engliſh, expreſſing his gratitude for their many favours, and offering his prayers for their future honours. When the late Dr. Johnſon was told, in what language our grammarian had relinquiſhed his truſt, and expreſſed his thankfulneſs, he ſaid, *That ſuch a letter, from ſuch a ſcholar,*

(*p*) In 4 vol. 12mo. Edinb. 1751. Of the ſmall editions of Livy, Harwood ſpeaks of this, as the beſt; as, of the large editions, he equally recommends Drakenborch's, in 7 vo's. 4to. Amſtel. 1738.

ought to have been in Latin. (*q*) Yet, of Ruddiman, Johnſon declared, *That his learning is not his higheſt*

(*q*) Ruddiman's letter, which was honoured by Johnſon's diſapprobation, the curious reader will find ſubjoined:

To the Honourable the Dean and Faculty of Advocates:

The humble Addreſs and Repreſentation of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, Keeper of their Library.

My much-honoured patrons and maſters: Having now entered the ſeventy-eighth year of my life, near fifty years of which ſpace have been ſpent in the ſervice of keeping your library, and finding, that by the infirmities that accompany ſo advanced an age, and eſpecially by the great decay of my ſight, I am become altogether unable to execute that office any longer, I have, as in juſtice I ought, determined with myſelf to give it over; and therefore, do hereby make a ſurrender and reſignation of it, into thoſe hands from whom I received it. In the mean time, your honours will allow me to expreſs the double ſatisfaction I receive from a review of my paſt labours; that as on the one hand I am conſcious to myſelf, that by God's aſſiſtance, and as far as human frailty would permit, I have made it my conſtant endeavour to diſcharge that office with that care and fidelity, which ſo valuable a truſt required; ſo on the other hand, and on your part, I have met with all the good-will, encouragement, and approbation, that I could reaſonably expect, or wiſh for. But tho' I can be no longer ſerviceable to the Honourable Faculty in that my former capacity, yet there is one duty ſtill in my power, and which can never be diſpenſed with, and that is, that from the deep and moſt grateful ſenſe which I ſhall always retain of your great and manifold favours, I ſhould earneſtly pray to Almighty God for the honour, proſperity, and flouriſhing ſtate of your moſt learned and uſeful ſociety, that ye may continue a great ornament to thoſe high courts,

higheſt excellence; and ſent him, as a mark of his kindneſs, a copy of *The Rambler*, when it was re-publiſhed, at Edinburgh, by Mr. Elphinſton. (*r*) Ruddiman had, however, outlived his vanities; and the lawyers of Scotland were not to learn, that their librarian could write Tully's language, with Tully's purity. Goodal, who had been, for thirty years, the aſſiſtant of Ruddiman, was now overlooked, in the choice of a ſucceſſor. The Advocates had probably remarked, what Sir David Dalrymple had often ſeen, *that Walter was ſeldom ſober*. And, on the 28th of January, 1752, was appointed, in our grammarian's place, at a ſalary of forty pounds a year, Mr. David Hume, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his *Treatiſe on*

courts, of which you are members, and that in them, and every where elſe, ye may ſhine forth with that ſplendour and dignity, that unblemiſhed character for juſtice and probity, and the faithful diſcharge of all thoſe duties your honourable profeſſion has laid upon you, for which you are ſo remarkable, and which the ſuperior name and rank you bear in the world, give your country juſt ground to expect and demand of you. This is the laſt and beſt teſtimony and aſſurance, I can give of my moſt ſincere gratitude, warm affection, and high regard to the honourable Faculty;—and that I am now, and always, my much-honoured patrons and maſters, your moſt obliged, moſt humble, and moſt dutiful ſervant,

Dum memor ipſe mei, dum ſpiritus hos regit artus.

T. RUDDIMAN.

(*r*) Mr. Boſwell's Life, vol. i. p. 187.

Human Nature, and by his *Eſſays, Moral and Political.* (*s*)

Ruddiman ſoon gave a fine ſpecimen of his knowledge of the Latin language, as it was written, and ſpoken, both before and after Tully's time. It was Mr. John Garden of Brechin, who, in January 1752, engaged our grammarian in the taſk, of giving his ſentiments, as to the manner, in which the Romans pronounced their own ſpeech, when it was in its greateſt purity. Ruddiman executed this work, with the alacrity of youth, and the knowledge of age, (*t*) though he knew, that the moſt learned could hardly afford a ſatisfactory ſolution of ſo difficult a queſtion.

Ruddiman concurred with the learned Scioppius in thinking, that were Cicero alive, and to converſe with the moſt ſkilful in his tongue, he would neither underſtand them, nor they him. As ages have elapſed, ſince the Latin language was vulgarly ſpoken, the ſenſe of hearing, can no longer give any aid to the efforts of intellect. And hence, certainty muſt give place to conjecture, which is to be regarded only, as it is conceived with moſt ſagacity, or ſupported with greateſt ſtrength.

(*s*) Scots Mag. 1752, p. 54.

(*t*) In his letter to Mr. James Garden, dated 22d of February 1752, which, however valuable, ſtill remains in manuſcript.

The

The erudition of Ruddiman enabled him to trace the progreſs of the Roman ſyllabication, which, like the Roman power, had its rude beginning, its meridian ſplendour, and its final decay. He ſhows, that the ancient mode of writing, when inſtead of *Jus*, *Judex*, and *Jure*, the Romans wrote *Jous*, *Joudex*, and *Joure*, was not wholly laid aſide, at the late period of the Auguſtan age. From the ſtyle of their orthography, at different periods of their literature, he was enabled to deduce inferences, with regard to the mode of their pronunciation, which was never uniform, but always changeful.

After much curious diſquiſition, our inveſtigator, came at laſt to the great object of Garden's letter, which was to reſtore the pronunciation of the Latin language to the ſtandard of the ancient Romans. Ruddiman admitted the importance of Garden's propoſal, if a ſtandard could be found; if difficulties could be conquered; if the project were attainable. And, with his uſual judgment, he concluded his elaborate diſſertation, on this intereſting ſubject, by remarking, that if the Latin tongue be written with Roman accuracy, Roman pronunciation may be left, without much inconvenience, to find its own faſhion, in the learned world.

Ruddiman had ſcarcely cloſed his friendly correſpondence with James Garden, on the orthoepy of the Latin, when he was drawn from his fa-

vourite ſtudies into an acrimonious conteſt by James Man, concerning his edition of *Buchanan's Works*, which had been publiſhed eight-and-thirty years before.

James Man, who will be remembered only, as he was the antagoniſt of Ruddiman, was born at Whitewreath, in the pariſh of Elgin, and ſhire of Murray. He was the ſon of John Man, a ſmall farmer of *ten bolls rent*, who, having loſt three of his fingers by an accident, and being thereby made unfit for labour, relinquiſhed his farm, and became a *gentle beggar*. He was chiefly enabled by this vocation, to educate his ſon, firſt at the pariſh ſchool of Longbride, and afterwards at the King's College, Aberdeen.

James Man firſt came out into life, in the humble ſtation of *precentor*, or pariſh-clerk, of Longbride, in the neighbourhood of Elgin. He went thence to the King's College, where he ſtudied phyſics and metaphyſics, in the years 1719, 1720, and 1721, under profeſſor Alexander Burnet. (*u*) James Man had from nature a vigorous intellect, and a peeviſh temper, with a ſmall ſtature, and a mean look; from habit, application, and from ſtudy, learning. Soon after he left

(*u*) James Man did not ſtudy in the Greek claſs, but entered the ſecond year of the courſe, and obtained his Maſter of Arts degree, on the 15th of April 1721. Profeſſor Thomas Gordon was ſo obliging as to aſcertain theſe facts for me, from the college records.

the

the college, he was, with theſe accompliſhments, and failings, appointed ſchoolmaſter of the pariſh of Touch, in the ſhire of Aberdeen. He at length was ordained a preacher, without being able to obtain a church. He, however, aſſiſted ſuperannuated miniſters, and diſguſted his auditors, by tedious ſermons, which he delivered with cold declamation, and uncouth utterance. He was, in the end, admitted the maſter of the poor's hoſpital, in the city of Aberdeen, on the 11th of December 1742.

It was, in this ſtation, that a maniac deſire of polemical authorſhip came upon him. Ruddiman kindly aſſiſted his ſtudies, by lending him manuſcripts. Yet, his temper, his prejudices, and his politics, made him one of the *aſſociated critics* of Edinburgh. Buchanan became of courſe the Dagon of his worſhip, and Ruddiman the Demon of his hate. He determined to give an edition of Buchanan's hiſtory, which the *aſſociated critics* had often promiſed, yet never had performed. But, Man thought it neceſſary to ſhow, in the mean time, that former editions were faulty; that "a vaſt number of paſſages of Buchanan's writings had been foully corrupted, "miſerably defaced, and groſsly perverted," by Ruddiman. Here, then, is the ſource of James Man's *Cenſure and Examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological Notes, on the Works of the great*

great Buchanan, more particularly on the History of Scotland. (x)

When this *Cenſure* appeared, in March 1753, at the end of eight-and-thirty years, Ruddiman ſaid, that it was, *opus triginta virorum, et triginta annorum*, with an alluſion to the *aſſociated critics*, and their tardy performance of thirty-year's promiſes. Man had undoubtedly the help of Love's literature, and of Logan's zeal. (y) He alſo re-

(x) This huge octavo, of 574 pages, was printed at Aberdeen, 1753, for the author, and ſold by John and George Paton, at Buchanan's head, in the Parliament-Cloſe, Edinburgh.

(y) My worthy friend, the Rev. David Love, the Vicar of Fingringhoe, has aſſured me, "That his father wrote ſome "of the critical parts of *Man's Cenſure* of Ruddiman. In "the ſummer of 1750, when his health was much on the "decline, I uſed to write ſuch ſort of things from his dictation; many of which I remembered, when I read Man's "book in 1753; and even now, after the elapſe of ſo many "years, I recollect the remarks I wrote, in this way, on the "numeral adjective *alius*, which you will find at p. 386 of "*Man's Cenſure*. But how much, or what parts, are my father's compoſition, it is impoſſible for me to ſay. A boy "of thirteen was too young to be intruſted with communications of that ſort. I only hope, that no part of the abuſe, "which pollutes almoſt every page of Man's book, dropt "from his pen. After his death, all my father's papers, of "this kind, were put into the hands of Logan, who ſent "them to Man, together with my father's [copy of Ruddiman's] edition of Buchanan's works, in which he had "wrote a copy of Ruddiman's manuſcript anſwers to Burman's animadverſions upon ſome of Ruddiman's notes on "Buchanan's works, which fill nineteen folio pages. Man "returned Buchanan's works, but kept the papers."

ceived

ceived occaſional aſſiſtance from the other zealots, who, having weak heads, and narrow hearts, conſidered Buchanan, incomparable, as a ſcholar, and immaculate, as a man.

Urged, by ſuch aſſociates, and animated, by ſuch aid, Man produced his *Cenſure*, in which he endeavoured to prove, in his own vulgarity of ſtyle, that Ruddiman was a *finiſhed pedant*, and a *furious calumniator*. But, with jaundiced eyes, Man could not diſtinguiſh miſtake from calumny, criticiſm from pedantry, nor deſire of amendment from purpoſe of corruption.

Under the influence of ſuch diſtempers, both of mind and body, Man proceeded from his *introduction*, to inveſtigate in chapter the 1ſt, "When Buchanan began to write, and when "he ended, his hiſtory," though the ſucceſs of the critic be not equal to the efforts of the zealot. He undertook, in chapter the 2d, the yet greater labour of eſtabliſhing the purity of Buchanan's morals, with the courage indeed of Hercules, but certainly without his ſucceſs. Man attempted, in chapter the 3d, the ſtill harder taſk of converting the errors of typography into the graces of correctneſs. In the progreſs of his critical follies, he tried to rival Ariſtarchus, in the captiouſneſs of his ſpirit, but not in the depth of his learning; by inſiſting, through the ſubſequent chapters, that Ruddiman was ignorant *of the uſe, and meaning*, of nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs,

verbs, participles, adverbs, prepoſitions, and conjunctions. Yet, have learned men continued to regard Ruddiman, as the great grammarian of his time, notwithſtanding the clamours of Logan, the animadverſions of Love, and the cenſures of Man. The late Doctor Johnſon, when finding fault with Mr. Boſwell's Latinity, exclaimed, "Ruddiman is dead!"

When the *Cenſure* of Man fell into the hands of the contemporary *reviewers*, they ſhewed themſelves to be true-born Engliſhmen, by ſiding with the weaker party. They condemned his vulgarity, indeed, but they did not repreſs his audacity, nor explode his ignorance. And, they finally declared that, in ſome of the rounds of this *bellum grammaticale*, Man had the *beſt of the battle*.

When Ruddiman was attacked, as we have ſeen, by Man, with rudeneſs of manner, and malevolence of purpoſe, he had advanced to the eightieth year of his age. He was almoſt blind. And, he was of courſe obliged "to employ the "eyes, the ears, and the pens of others," in making his defence. (z) Yet, though he had expected to ſpend in quiet the ſmall remainder of a protracted life, he was not diſcouraged by ap-

(z) The Rev. John Walker of Watlington, in Norfolk, has informed me, that Ruddiman had the uſe of *his* eyes, ears, and pen; having been Ruddiman's amanuenſis from 1752 to 1755, incluſive.

prehenſions

prehenſions of conteſt, nor frightened by the numeroſity of his foes. He determined, with a magnanimous ſpirit, to make his various enemies feel the rebound of their own envenomed ſhafts. And, ſummoning the vigour of his youth with the experience of his age, he ſent out, in January 1754, *Anticriſis*, (*a*) or a *Diſcuſſion of the ſcurrilous and malicious Libel, publiſhed by one James Man, of Aberdeen.*

In this warfare, Ruddiman was engaged, by a regard for character, and by a love of truth. He now vindicates his edition of Buchanan's works, as incomparably more perfect, than any that went before it; and, without departing from his uſual modeſty, he might have added, or that have ſince followed it. He ſhows, by his acuteneſs, and his ſtrength, that though he had entered his eightieth year, he was not that *dreamer*, that *dotard*, which Man, with peculiar ſaucineſs, had repreſented him. He is anxious to remove the pretence, which was common with his antagoniſts, that their treatiſes were unanſwerable, ſo long as they had not been anſwered. But, his chief anxiety is about his Latinity. It was indeed to be expected, that he, who from his earlieſt youth, had applied himſelf, in a particular manner, to the ſtudy of the Latin language, had

(*a*) It is an 8vo. pamphlet of 226 pages, and was printed, at Edinburgh, by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, 1754.

publiſhed

publiſhed elaborate works, on that ſubject, for the inſtruction of others, and was now repreſented, in every page of *Man's Cenſure*, as a *mere ignoramus*, ſhould be concerned for his fame as, a ſcholar.

Such were Ruddiman's motives for publiſhing his *Anticriſis*. When he came to cloſe animadverſion, he purſued Man through the ſeries of his inſidious chapters. Had Ruddiman's power of diſquiſition been leſs vigorous, his candour in acknowledging petty errors, muſt have gained him the applauſe of criticiſm. By directing his anſwers to the point of the objection, he brings every queſtion to a deciſive iſſue. He, in this mode, rectifies many facts, which had been miſtated by ignorance, or perverted by deſign. He ſhews what improvements he had made in Buchanan's text, and by what helps theſe improvements had been gained. And, pleading for the indulgence, which is ever paid to age, he evinces, by the preciſion of his memory, the extent of his erudition, and the maturity of his judgment, that he might ſet fair critics at defiance.

After complaining of the wrong, which had been done him by Love, whom he had deemed his friend, in communicating his manuſcript notes, on Burman's edition of Buchanan, to Man, his enemy, our venerable grammarian reſumed his habitual temper. With good-humour, he at length ſettled the controverſy, between himſelf and

and Man, in the mercantile form of debtor and creditor. The total charge of Man againſt Ruddiman amounts to twenty errors, which are all that the hypercritic can, with any reaſon, impute to the editor, in two folio volumes. Yet, it is to be obſerved, that the firſt, ſecond, and third, had been formerly objected by Love. (*b*) The fourth, and fifth, had been obſerved by Burman. (*c*) The ſix following are typographical miſtakes. (*d*) The twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, (*e*) are errors, indeed, but of little importance. And all the foregoing inſtances were found, in the preface, and annotations. In the text, there were ſaid to be five errors, (*f*) of which, the ſixteenth, and ſeventeenth, are controvertible, the eighteenth is uncertain, and the nineteenth is an error of the preſs. The omiſſion of the words in

(*b*) 1. Proclio for prellaeo; 2. James Stuart, the regent, for James Stuart, the prior; 3. Petrus, for Nicholous, Bourbonius.

(*c*) Joſeph Scaliger, as not being his father's eldeſt ſon; *Perſuaſus ſum*, as not being good Latin.

(*d*) VI for XI; 31 for 30; 1654 for 1464; 1573 for 1473; 1412 for 1512, 1413-4 for 1513-4.

(*e*) The demiſe of Henry III. of England as miſtaken; Henricus for Ricardus; Northumbria for Agro Eboracenſi.

(*f*) *Concilium* for *conſilium*; *ſimul* for *ſemel*; whether *unum* was right is uncertain; *offeret* for *offerret*. The following words, "*Omnem libidinem ſolutus, quaſi jure permiſſa in omnes,*" were improperly omitted, in Buchanan's text, p. 302. ch. 9, 10.

the

the twentieth charge does not detract from the ſenſe. And this omiſſion, our editor conſidered as ſufficiently compenſated by the addition of ſeveral words, in other places, and by ſupplying a whole ſentence from the excellent manuſcript of Buchanan's hiſtory, which is in the college of Edinburgh; (*g*) and which had been extremely uſeful, in the reviſal of Buchanan's text. Such was the fair admiſſion of Ruddiman!

Ruddiman's counter-charge againſt Man was arranged under the following heads:

1. Falſehoods and prevarications -	20.
2. Abſurdities - - -	69.
3. Paſſages from claſſic authors, which were erroneouſly ſtated - -	21.
4. Paſſages in claſſical authors, which were miſunderſtood by Man - -	10.
5. Paſſages from claſſical authors, that do not anſwer the purpoſe, for which Man had adduced them - -	42.
6. Paſſages in Buchanan, which are miſunderſtood by Man - -	5.
7. Words and phraſes, in Buchanan, which are not claſſical Latin, and which are yet defended by Man - -	11.

(*g*) The ſentence, which was uſefully ſupplied, was in the following words: *Macduffus tyrannum fugientem aſſecutus caput occiſi ad ſuos retulit*; without which ſentence, ſays Ruddiman, it had not been known what became of Macbeth.

§ 8. Typogra-

8. Typographical errors in Arbuthnot's edition of Buchanan's Hiſtory, which are defended by Man - - 30.
9. Other errors, which had been corrected by the editor, yet are blamed by the critic - - - 126.
10. The abſurd methods, which Man had taken to reconcile Buchanan's chronology - - - 7.
11. Impertinent digreſſions, in which the controverſy is not concerned - 9.
12. Buchanan's citations from ancient authors, which, having been rectified by the editor, were yet blamed by the critic - - - 50.
13. The editor abſurdly blamed, by the critic, for printing uniformly the proper names of perſons, places, &c. 22.
14. Remarks, and conjectures, by the editor, which were unjuſtly found fault with, by the critic - - 47.

The total counter-charge - 469.
Deduct the charge - 20.

The balance of errors incurred by Man 449.

In this effectual manner, did our aged grammarian, at the time when he was obliged to uſe the eyes, and hands, of younger perſons, repel the aſſault of Man, who, with unprovoked profli-

gacy, laboured to blaſt his character, as a citizen, and to ruin his reputation, as a ſcholar.

After James Man had filled more than five hundred and ſeventy pages, with hypercriticiſm, on *the parts of ſpeech*, he did not finiſh all that his malignity had intended. He deſigned to proceed, when ſome better opportunity ſhould offer him greater advantages, to animadvert on Ruddiman's *Syntax*, *Proſody*, and *Orthography*; to offer miſcellaneous obſervations on thoſe parts of Buchanan's writings, which follow, in Freebairn's edition, volume 1ſt, the Hiſtory, De Jure, and the Detection. But, to whatever cauſe it was owing; whether he found, in the veteran ſtrength of Ruddiman, ſtouter reſiſtance, than his confidence had expected; whether his countrymen contemned his deſign, and deſpiſed his coarſeneſs; whether captiouſneſs could find few readers, and impertinence fewer purchaſers; it cannot now be known: certain it is, however, that his obſtinacy did not openly execute his threats; though his malevolence may have privately wounded the character, at which his envy ſickened, and his cowardice trembled.

Ruddiman, in the mean time, relieved the wearineſs of conteſt, by the amuſements of literature. New books, and unpubliſhed manuſcripts, were ſometimes recited to him. When a tranſlation of the celebrated ſpeech of Ajax to the Grecian chiefs, in Ovid, was read to him, in

the vulgar dialect of Buchan, he declared it the beſt, that had ever been made. It was immediately printed by his deſire. (*b*) This tranſlation, which was thus approved by the judgment, or the complacency, of Ruddiman, was made by Robert Forbes, a learned hoſier of London, but a native of Buchan, who had a happy knack at verſification, in the idiom of his country. (*i*) He had a brother, who was the ſchoolmaſter of Foveran, in Aberdeenſhire, and who is ſaid to have been, *in ſuo officio nemini ſecundus.*

Ruddiman, we may remember, was left in the field of controverſy, without an antagoniſt, in 1754, but, not without offence. The deciſion, which the *reviewers* had pronounced on *Man's Cenſure*, gave our grammarian jealous apprehenſions for his ſcholarſhip. He found ſome relief,

(*b*) It was printed at Edinburgh in 1754, 8vo, without the printer's name indeed; but it was undoubtedly printed by Ruddiman's nephew, Walter Ruddiman, who ſupplied the gloſſary, which may be uſeful to the lovers of ancient poetry, and helpful to the readers of Scottiſh hiſtory, in the dialect of *other times*.

(*i*) In a *ſhop bill*, Forbes told the place of his reſidence, in the following manner:

" I likewiſe tell you by this bill,
" That I do live upo' Tower-hill,
" Hard by the houſe o' Robie Mill,
" Juſt i' the nuik,
" Ye canna' miſt when 'ere you will,
" The ſign's a buik."

by ſending them, in March 1755, his *Anticriſis* with an epiſtle, explaining his juſt pretenſions, and requeſting their fair report. The *reviewers* ſoftened the terms, rather than retracted the matter, of their judgment. From *the chair*, they declared, that *Man had poured out ſcurrility ſufficient to overlay an oyſter-wench*, but, *upon the whole*, he ſeemed to have the advantage, in ſeveral things; (*k*) allowing, however, to Ruddiman, more modeſty, more learning, and more politeneſs. Yet, our ſcholiaſt, who knew little of the artifice of profeſſed criticiſm, did not ſee the equity of this deciſion. He did not underſtand the policy of leaving the critics to flutter in their own importance, to preſume upon their anonymous inviſibility, and to decide from their oracular tribunal. And, he publiſhed, therefore, in January 1756, *Audi Alteram Partem*; or a *further Vindication* of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's edition of the great Buchanan's Works. (*l*)

Our grammarian ſeemed to gather ſtrength from his years. His *further Vindication* (*m*) is a more

(*k*) That is, in *twenty things*, out of more than *four hundred and ſixty-nine things*.

(*l*) This is an 8vo. pamphlet of 62 pages, which was printed at Edinburgh, in 1756, by T. and W. Ruddimans.

(*m*) Mr. Preſton, who is known by his treatiſe on *Free Maſonry*, informed me, that being Mr. Ruddiman's amanuenſis, at the period of his deceaſe, and for ſome time before, he wrote the *Audi Alteram Partem* from Ruddiman's dictation,

more impreſſive treatiſe, than his *Anticriſis*. It did not, however, goad James Man into a reply, nor urge the *reviewers* into altercation. Ruddiman probably allayed his own irritation, by giving vent to his griefs; and promoted his own quiet, *by cloſing accounts* with his antagoniſts, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

But, the *Audi Alteram Partem* of Ruddiman is chiefly valuable, at preſent, for his *critical remarks* on Burman's philological notes upon the works of Buchanan, which, having been originally written on the margin of his copy, are now no where elſe to be found. Not content with the general title, which Ruddiman had given to the works of Buchanan, *Buchanani Opera Omnia*, Burman added, with pleonaſtic falſehood, *hiſtorica, chronologica, juridica, politica, ſatyrica, et poetica*. The *Chronological Table*, which was uſefully prefixed to Buchanan's hiſtory, was not, however, the production of Buchanan, but the property of Ruddiman; which Burman, therefore, endeavoured to transfer to another. Buchanan never wrote any thing on juriſprudence. His *De Jure Regni*, as Ruddiman allows, may be claſſed among his party-pamphlets; but, as it treats, neither of the law of Scotland, nor of any other law, it can ſcarcely be regarded as a juridical treatiſe. Of

dictation, who ſat in his arm-chair with his hands acroſs, and ſometimes looked a little at the manuſcript; as he was not quite blind.

the ſatyrica of Buchanan, Ruddiman knew nothing: for, his writings againſt Mary, Queen of Scots, are no more to be called *ſatires*, than Cicero's orations againſt Verres: Buchanan's *Franciſcanus*, and his ſatire in *Carolum Lotharingum Cardinalem*, are indeed ſatires; but they fall more properly under his *Opera Poetica*; otherwiſe, continues Ruddiman, his books *De Sphæra* might be ſtiled *Opera Aſtronomica*, and his *Jephthes*, and *Baptiſtes*, *Opera Tragica*.

From theſe animadverſions on the pleonaſtic title-page of Burman, Ruddiman proceeded to ſtate modeſtly, but deciſively, his objections to his philological notes. And, by an examination of paſſages, he ſhows clearly, wherein Burman had miſunderſtood Buchanan; wherein he had wronged Buchanan's editor; wherein the editor was more likely to be right than the critic. From this inveſtigation, it was proved, even to the conviction of Man, that Burman, with all his critical ſkill, was not quite free from blunders. It indeed did not require ſuch ſtrictneſs of inquiry, to ſatisfy the learned world, that editors, and critics, ought to profeſs more of charity, than contempt, for each other.

After ſuch minute examinations, and mutual cenſures, James Man probably found himſelf better qualified to give his projected edition of Buchanan's Hiſtory, which he lived not to publiſh. Having exiſted, for almoſt twenty years, at

at Aberdeen, in a ſtate of more buſtle, than notice, he ceaſed to vex himſelf, or the world, in October 1761. In private life, he was, however, decent in his manners, and inoffenſive in his intercourſe. Whatever his annual income may have been, he ſpent little. And, by the attentive parſimony of many years, he had ſaved about one hundred and fifty-five pounds; of which he bequeathed ſixty pounds to his relations; and ſettled ninety-five pounds on the poor's hoſpital, of which he had ſo long been the maſter, to be applied in giving apprentice-fees, with ſuch boys, as ſhould be educated in that uſeful ſeminary. This legacy has accumulated, by prudent management, to two hundred pounds, and now yields an annual income of ten pounds, which enables the directors of the hoſpital to pay ten ſhillings a year to each boy, during his apprenticeſhip.

While James Man lived under the ſhelter of this hoſpital, he appears not to have been idle. He delighted to read *local hiſtory*, which ſupplied him with minute facts, for his intended publications. He made collections for an edition of Doctor Arthur Johnſton's Poems, which ſtill remain in the hands of profeſſor Thomas Gordon of Aberdeen. The *Aſſembly* of the *Kirk* encouraged him to write *The Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland*, a taſk, which though he never performed, he ſeems to have been ſufficiently qualified

to execute, by his learning, and diligence; and above all, by his zeal of Preſbytery, and ardour of Whiggiſm. With thoſe accompliſhments, and aids, Man ſent, at length, his edition of Buchanan's Hiſtory to the printer, (*n*) which was corrected, in ſome of the laſt ſheets, as they came from the preſs, by profeſſor Gerrard, who has ſince been admired for his *Taſte*, and reſpected for his *Sermons*.

When Man's long-expected edition came out, in 1762, the eye of diſcernment perceived its injudiciouſneſs, though the finger of criticiſm did not point out its follies. He prefixed the life of Buchanan, which he ſuppoſed to be written by the hiſtorian himſelf, but without the uſeful commentaries of Sibbald, or the able annotations of Ruddiman. One note of Sibbald he did, indeed, ſubjoin to the encomiaſtic verſes; telling that Buchanan's ſkull had been preſerved in the college library, at Edinburgh; and that it was very round, and very thin.

Man followed the example of Burman, in prefixing to the hiſtory Ruddiman's *Tabula Regum Scotiæ Chronologica*, without the previous conſent of the owner, for this appropriation of his goods. To his Chronology he did, indeed, add the acceſ-

(*n*) This edition was printed at Aberdeen, in 1762, by James Chalmers, in an octavo ſize. It has a copious index. And there is with great propriety, no doubt, added to the whole, Buchanan's Dialogue *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which is ſo illuſtrative of the ancient law of Scotland!

ſion

ſion of George II. and George III. which, in 1715, Ruddiman could not include. He copied with blundering ſlaviſhneſs, Ruddiman's errors; and, with reprehenſible inattention, he added his own. (*o*)

Man avowedly adopted the text of the moſt ancient edition of Arbuthnot, without regarding the emendations of Ruddiman. The firſt ſentence he printed in the following manner: "Cum "res geſtas majorum noſtrorum à fabularum va- "nitate liberare, et ab oblivionis injuria *ven*dicare "ſtatuiſſem." *Ven*dicare Man copied from Arbuthnot. Ruddiman, with leſs ſervility, and more judgment, printed *vin*dicare. The deſign of Buchanan ſufficiently evinces, that he muſt have written *vin*dicare, as Ruddiman ſuppoſed, and not *ven*dicare, a word of doubtful Latinity, and of obſolete uſe. (*p*)

(*o*) Both the editors date the elevation of Edgar to the throne of his father, in 1098, inſtead of 1097. Man dates the acceſſion of William, in 1163, in place of 1165. Neither of the editors include the *Maid* of Norway among the Kings of Scotland; though Ruddiman does, indeed, mention her on another occaſion, as one of the ſovereigns of Scotland. They both err, as to the true commencement of the reign of John Baliol, which ought to have been in 1292, inſtead of 1294. And they equally miſtake as to the acceſſion of James I. which ought to have been dated 1405, inſtead of 1406.

(*p*) *Vin*dico, non *Ven*dico, ſays Cellarius, in his *Orthographia Latina*. And, ſee the authority of Priſcian added to the judgment of Cellarius, in Putſchius, p. 1208. But what is Man to Priſcian, or Priſcian to Man!

Man

Man added *various readings*, and ſubjoined explanatory notes, that he had collected from rare manuſcripts; yet, he does not, like Ruddiman, inform us, whence he had them, or where they may be ſeen.

His notes, which are very ſuperficial, very conceited, and very ignorant, are chiefly written in Engliſh. With true ſuperficiality, he explained the *veterans* of the Roman armies to have been *old beaten ſoldiers*. (*q*) With genuine prejudice, he inſiſted, in oppoſition to Ruddiman, that the acceſſion of the Scottiſh Kings commenced from their *coronation*, and not from the day of the prior *demiſe*. Without any love of truth, without any regard to law, without any apprehenſion of conſequences, this wretched ſcribbler has his political follies always uppermoſt in his mind. But, his ignorance was ſtill greater than his prejudice. He very gravely inſtructed (*r*) the Scottiſh Antiquaries, that the VALLUM SEVERI *beginneth at the Firth of Forth, and goeth weſt to the Firth of Clyde*. He had borrowed this abſurd note from his maſter Buchanan, who was as little acquainted with the antiquities of Scotland as himſelf. The ignorance of Buchanan admits of ſome extenuation; becauſe few records of ſtone had, when he wrote, been dug from the *Vallum* ANTONINI,

(*q*) In p. 93, note 2.

(*r*) P. 108, note 1.

even

even if his genius could have ſtooped to read inſcriptions. (*s*) But, for Man to write thus, of the wall of Severus, ſubſequent to the elaborate note of Ruddiman, which quotes the inſcriptions, (*t*) and ſubſequent to the publication of Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, (*u*) which had given engravings of the ſtones, was indeed unpardonable. Perhaps Man thought, as Mr. George Wallace, a moſt learned lawyer of Edinburgh, has ſince taught his countrymen, that the *ſceptical doubts of Buchanan are entitled to more conſideration, than poſitive aſſertions, made after laborious reſearches by any ſhallow antiquary.* (*x*) But, of James Man, his ſuperficiality, his prejudices, and his ignorance, enough!

(*s*) The judgment of Camden led him to read inſcriptions, which he conſidered as the beſt evidence of hiſtoric truth: And, from inſcriptions, Camden knew the true ſcite of the wall of Antoninus.

(*t*) Buch. Op. Om. vol. 1. p. 413, which refers to the text, p. 9. D. 3.

(*u*) It was publiſhed at London, 1726. See p. 50-64, and the plates 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. for demonſtrations, that the Roman wall, between the Forth and Clyde, was conſtructed by the Roman legions, during the reign of ANTONINUS.

(*x*) Ancient Peerages, edit. 1785. p. 450; where Mr. Wallace talks in mercantile phraſe, but with *ſceptical doubts*, "that *Earls* were firſt *imported* into Scotland by Malcolm "Canmore." It were eaſy to ſhow, that a writer may be a *ſhallow antiquary*, while he dogmatizes, as a moſt profound juriſt.

The

The time had meantime arrived, when Ruddiman was to turn from the contests, and amusements of literature, to more serious objects. With his usual prudence, he had made a testamentary disposition of his property, on the 17th of May 1746. Various changes, which had successively occurred, induced him to make a new settlement of his affairs, on the 22d of March 1756. He now made a *disposition* and *assignation* of his whole estate. Of this *disposition* John Gordon, an advocate, James Wright, and Thomas Boswell, writers, and Walter Ruddiman, his brother, had the honour to be the *overseers*. And, this *assignation* of the property of Ruddiman was made *in trust*, for the following uses: For the payment of his just debts, and his widow's jointure: for the behoof of his only daughter, during her life: and, after her decease, for the general benefit of her children, in equal portions, to those, who were born, and to those who might be born. (*y*) Such was the settlement of Rud-

(*y*) The deed of settlement.—Ruddiman, alas! who had written for such a length of years, with so great facility and neatness, was now obliged *to touch the pen*, as it was held by William Rolland, and William Henry, who were *co-notaries*. The witnesses of Ruddiman's signature were George Tod, the writer of the deed; Alexander Brown, *Student of Divinity*, who is at present, the keeper of the Advocates Library; George Scot, an apprentice to Walter Ruddiman; and John Richardson, another apprentice of Walter Ruddiman, who has since distinguished himself by his *Persian Dictionary*, and other learned works.

diman!

diman! And, ſuch a ſettlement, every wiſe man will make, before that period approaches, when fruition can no longer pleaſe, and hope looks forward to higher joys.

Ruddiman died at Edinburgh, on Wedneſday, the 19th of January 1757, when he had advanced into the eighty-third year of his age. (z) He had lived for ſeven years under the affliction of bodily diſeaſes, of various kinds; but his mental powers remained unſhaken to the end. He had been long afflicted by the ſtrangury; he had been ſomewhat ſtupified by deafneſs; and at the ſame time, that the ſight of one of his eyes was loſt, the viſion of the other was almoſt extinguiſhed: But, the preſſure of his infirmities only gave ardour to his piety, and the debilities of age only invigorated the ſteadineſs of his faith. He was buried in the cemetery of the Grey-friars church, but without the affectionate tribute of a tomb-ſtone, which, indeed, had merely preſerved his memory for a day; as it has long been forgotten, that Buchanan had once *a ſtone*, in the

(z) Scots Mag. 1757, p. 54, where there is a ſhort account of him, and of his writings. There was inſerted in the Caledonian Mercury, dated the 27th of January, 1757, a brief, but affectionate, character of Ruddiman, by the Rev. William Harper, ſenior, one of the miniſters of the epiſcopal church at Edinburgh.

ſame

ſame cemetery, which inquiry can no longer find. (*a*)

During ſeveral years, Scotland has, indeed, been led to expect, that a cenotaph would be erected, at Laurence Kirk, by Lord Gardenſtone, not ſo much to perpetuate Ruddiman's name, as to do honour to his learning, and to exalt his worth. (*b*) In May 1790, Lord Gardenſtone declared, (*c*) "that he ſtill intended to erect a "proper monument, in his village, to the me-"mory of the late learned, and worthy, Mr.

(*a*) I cauſed a ſearch lately to be made for the *through-ſtone* of Buchanan, which having ſunk, under the ground, was reſtored, in 1701, by the magiſtrates of Edinburgh; but the *ſtone* of Buchanan has again ſunk under the accumulated duſt of meaner men. His paraphraſe of the Pſalms will preſerve his memory; but, *his pillar* will not!

(*b*) "We ſtopped at Lawrence Kirk" [on the 21ſt of Auguſt 1773] ſays Mr. Boſwell, "where our great gramma-"rian Ruddiman was once ſchoolmaſter. We reſpectfully "remembered that excellent man, and eminent ſcholar, by "whoſe labours a knowledge of the Latin language will "be preſerved in Scotland, if it ſhall be preſerved at all. "Lord Gardenſtone, one of our judges, collected money to "raiſe a monument to him at this place, which I hope will "be well executed. I know my father [Lord Achin-"leck] gave five guineas towards it." [Tour to the Hebrides, with Doctor Johnſon, p. 74.]

(*c*) In his letter, dated the 28th of May, 1790, to Mr. Charles Steuart, the writer to the ſignet, which is in my hands.

"Thomas

"Thomas Ruddiman." Yet, was there publiſhed, at Edinburgh, in 1792, a volume of *Miſcellanies*, (*d*) under Lord Gardenſtone's name; containing an avowed attack on the memory, and mean detractions from the fame, of Ruddiman. Cenotaph our "great grammarian" will have none. But, his philological labours will communicate "eternal blazon" to his name, after the fall of ſtructures of marble, or pillars of braſs, had they been erected, by other hands than his own:—

Poſt obitum benefacta manent, æternaque virtus
Non metuit Stygiis ne rapiatur aquis.

Of ſuch a perſon as Ruddiman, the curious reader naturally deſires to know various particulars, which could not be compreſſed into the narrative of his life. It is to be lamented that, of ſuch a man, had not been "writ in remembrance," more minute information, than enquiry could collect, or diligence can relate. Yet, muſt we ever recollect that,—

"*The truth* hath certain bounds, but *falſhood* none."

Ruddiman died in eaſy circumſtances, though his property, which did not conſiſt of money in the public funds, ſeems not to have much increaſed, after the vigilance of his attention had

(*d*) *Miſcellanies, in Proſe and Verſe*, &c. by the Hon. Lord Gardenſtone. Edinburgh, printed by J. Robertſon, Southbridge Street, 1792, 8vo.

been

been obſtructed by the infirmities of age. At the epoch of his deceaſe, he was probably worth, in "worldly goods," about three thouſand pounds, ſterling, excluſive of the *Caledonian Mercury*, and his other printing buſineſs. (*e*) He appears to have been an original member of *The Britiſh Linen Company*, which was firſt eſtabliſhed, at Edinburgh, in 1746; and having a ſhare of three hundred pounds, he had, of conſequence, a vote in chooſing the governor, deputy-governor, and the directors. Conſidering the time, and place, in which he lived, his wealth muſt be deemed conſiderable, to have been acquired by his diligence, and amaſſed by his œconomy.

The widow of Ruddiman lived till the 13th of October 1769. She is deſcribed to me by the Reverend Robert Walker, who had often ſeen her, "as a woman of a fine aſpect, elegant manners, and amiable diſpoſition." His brother, Walter Ruddiman, who had been ſo many years his partner, died on the 23d of Auguſt 1770, at the age of eighty-three, being then the oldeſt maſter-printer, in Scotland. (*f*) His only daughter

(*e*) MS. inventory of his effects, 1736-50. See a liſt of the *books* which were *printed* by Thomas Ruddiman, in the APPENDIX, No. 8.

(*f*) Scots Mag. 1770. p. 458. In the ſame volume, p. 441, there is a copy of verſes, in memory of Walter Ruddiman, by W. O. [Walter Oſwald], who had been his apprentice,

ter Aliſon, who, as we have ſeen, married James Steuart, in 1747, is ſtill alive, after bringing her huſband many children. Thomas Ruddiman Steuart, her eldeſt ſon, is a phyſician at Sheffield, in Yorkſhire, and has many of the talents, and much of the worth, of his grandfather. Her ſecond ſon, Charles, is a writer to the ſignet, at Edinburgh, a profeſſion, which he executes with Ruddiman's diligence, and modeſty. Her third ſon, William, went, when a youth, into the military ſervice, of the Eaſt-India Company; and, acquiring the Eaſtern languages, became a correſpondent of Sir William Jones, and is now aſſiſtant-reſident at Hydrabad, and poſſeſſes both integrity and addreſs, which qualify him to negociate with Scindia. She has alſo four daughters, Anne, Cecilia, Frances, and Mary, who, with all the attractions of women, are ſtill unmarried. Such are Ruddiman's grand-children, who are deſtined to continue his race.

Our grammarian was of a middle ſtature, and a thin habit, but of a frame ſo compact, as to have carried him on beyond the period, which is uſually aſſigned to man. His gait, till the lateſt period of his life, was upright, and active. His

tice, and journeyman. He is deſcribed, by a grateful, rather than poetic, pen, as,

"Of unaffected manners, ſocial, kind;
"The gentleſt maſter, father, huſband, friend."

eyebrows were arched and buſhy: And, his eyes were originally ſo piercing, that it required ſteady impudence to withſtand their fixed look, or ſudden glance.

His dreſs of ceremony is deſcribed to me as follows, by the Reverend David Love, who ſaw Ruddiman, in Auguſt 1747, at the examination of his father's ſchool, ſitting between George Logan, who was a little, neat, man, and profeſſor Mackie, who was tall, and thin: He had on a grizzle wig, which was much curled, and but ſlightly ſprinkled with powder. His coat was of cloth and of a mixed orange colour; his waiſtcoat, like the waiſtcoat of Johnſon, when he attended his Irene, was of ſcarlet cloth, and decorated with broad gold lace. His ſhirt was ornamented with very deep ruffles.

He was a man of ſuch unconimon temperance, that in the courſe of ſo long a life he never was once intoxicated with liquor. He loved indeed a chearful glaſs: but, when he was wound up by the enjoyment of friendly ſociety to his accuſtomed exhilaration, he would then refrain from drink; ſaying, *that the liquor would not go down.*

He appears, indeed, to have never had any great affection for thoſe convivial meetings, called clubs. His induſtry, at no period of his life, allowed him to look for refuge in the reſorts of idleneſs. He tells us himſelf, "That he never was concerned in any club but two: the one, which

which was ſet up many years before he was engaged in it, and conſiſted of gentlemen of conſiderable rank, ſuch as Sir Thomas Moncrief, and Sir William Scott, of doctors of phyſic, and of epiſcopal miniſters: the other was ſet up by ſchoolmaſters, who were joined by perſons of greater conſequence, for improving themſelves in uſeful learning, without meddling with church, or ſtate." (*g*)

Of the powers of his converſation, I have heard little. He did not affect the character of a wit, much leſs the buffoonery of a droll. On queſtions of literature, much regard was paid to his opinion. Had he been leſs modeſt, he could have been ſatirical. Inquiring once of the Reverend Robert Walker, who was then his amanuenſis, what claſſes he had been attending at the college of Edinburgh; and being told, that he had that morning heard a lecture on *Liberty* and *Neceſſity*, Ruddiman ſaid, "Well: does your profeſſor "make us free agents, or not?" To which Mr. Walker anſwered, "He gives us arguments on "both ſides, and leaves us to judge." "Very "well," rejoined Ruddiman; "*The fool has ſaid* "*in his heart there is no God*; and the profeſſor "will not tell you, whether the fool be right or "wrong." The profeſſor, who acted thus, was Cleghorn, a ſuppoſed *deiſt*, who had been choſen,

(*g*) A MS. note on *Furius*, dated the 16th of May 1755.

in oppoſition to Hume, the philoſopher, who was deemed a *jacobite*. The electors preferred Cleghorn to Hume; ſagely conſidering that, as Scotland furniſhed no other choice, a deiſt might probably become a Chriſtian, but a jacobite could not poſſibly become a Whig.

Ruddiman was frugal of his time, and moderate, both in his pleaſures and amuſements. His day was uſually employed in the following manner. He roſe early, and devoted the morning to ſtudy. During the ſitting of the Court of Seſſion, he uſed to attend the Advocates Library from ten o'clock till three. He commonly retired from dinner at four, except when it was neceſſary to ſhow reſpect to friends. His evenings were generally ſpent in converſation with the learned. During the decline of his age, when an amanuenſis became requiſite, his day was ſpent ſomewhat differently. His firſt act of the morning was to kneel down, while his amanuenſis read prayers. He lived chiefly in his library. A baſin of tea was brought him for his breakfaſt; he dined about two o'clock; and tea was again ſent in to him a little after four. His amanuenſis generally read to him ſeven hours a day, Sunday alone excepted, which, in the preſence of his family, and with the help of the Reverend Mr. Harper, was dedicated to the ſervice of God.

From nature, our grammarian had certainly uncommon endowments, both of memory and judg-

judgment, which do not always go together. He could remember the number of lines, which had been preſcribed for his taſks at ſchool. Ovid was his favourite; and of this poet he could repeat ſixty lines, without miſtaking a word. He had a practice, to which he was much indebted, he ſaid, for his knowledge of Latin, of commiting to memory, for occaſional uſe, any paſſage in proſe authors, that was remarkable for excellence, either in thought, or expreſſion. He uſed to enter in a common-place-book any uncommon hint, or unformed thought, which might be improved to advantage, as neceſſity required, or occaſion offered.

The works of Ruddiman, for which he had made ſuch previous preparation, ſhew him to have been a conſummate maſter of the Latin language. (*b*) He was acquainted with Greek. But

(*b*) On this ſubject, Mr. Profeſſor Thomas Gordon of the King's College, Aberdeen, wrote me, the 15th of May 1791, as follows: "From Mr. Ruddiman's *Vindication of Buchanan's Pſalms* againſt Mr. Auditor Benſon, you will find not "only his perfect knowledge of the Latin claſſic authors, in "matters of proſody, and grammatical lore, in general, but "that he beats the auditor out of ſight, in taſte, and perception of their elegancies. In my acquaintance with Engliſh gentlemen, or our countrymen, who had had an Engliſh "education, I found that, when they read the Latin poets, "they paid attention only to the punctuation, not making "any *mora* of pronunciation, at the end of a line, and much "leſs paying any attention to the penthemimers, and other

But he pretended to know nothing of Hebrew, any more than Buchanan, who, when he undertook to paraphraſe the Pſalms, ought to have underſtood the original language, in which they had been written. Ruddiman was acquainted with ſeveral modern tongues, though which particularly, or to what extent, cannot now be aſcertained. He wrote the Latin with correctneſs, no doubt, but certainly without the claſſic happineſs of Buchanan. Ruddiman's Engliſh has ruggedneſs, without ſtrength, and inelegance, without preciſion. But, what he plainly wanted in manner, he amply ſupplied in matter. His writings, whether they were compoſed in his early youth, or during his old age, are inſtructive, as might reaſonably be expected from his intellect, his erudition, and his diligence. When he was drawn into controverſy he is often ſevere, but he is never ſcurrilous, though few polemics ever had greater provocation. It may gratify the reader to ſee the following liſt of Ruddiman's Works, to which is prefixed the year of his age, when he executed each; and to which

" cæſura; ſo that, in their mouths, there was no diſtinction " between reading a paſſage of Virgil, and an oratorical " paſſage in Cicero's Orations. Out of my admiration of " their ſuperior knowledge in Latinity, I was, at a time, " led away with this, till I was inſtructed by Mr. Ruddi- " man, and afterwards read *his Vindication*, where this mat- " ter is treated of in a maſterly manner. As far as I know, " no other writer has ſaid a ſingle word on that ſubject."

is

is ſubjoined the date, when each book was finiſhed:

The Year of his own Age.		The Date when each was finiſhed.
20.	Rhetoricæ Compendium, incerto Auctore, à T. Ruddimanno tum juvene, admodum aliquibus locis interpolatum. MS. 8vo. not publiſhed.	1694.
28.	Excerptions out of ſeveral authors. MS. 4to. not publiſhed.	1702.
33.	Voluſenus. De Animi tranquilitate, Dialogus; cum prefatione Ruddimanni. Edin. 8vo.	1707.
35.	Johnſtonus. Cantici Solomonis paraphraſis Poetica; cum notis Ruddimanni. Edin. 8vo.	1709.
36.	Gawin Douglas's Virgil. The Gloſſary, with other prefixes, by Ruddiman. Edin. folio.	1710.
39.	Forreſt's Vocabulary, Latin, and Engliſh, improved by Ruddidiman. Edin. 8vo.	1713.
40.	The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue. Edin. 8vo.	1714.
	Grammatical Exerciſes; or Turner's Praxis, adapted to the Rudiments, by Ruddiman. Edin. 12mo.	
41.	Buchanani Opera Omnia; cum	1715.

The Year of his own Age. | The Date when each was finiſhed.

notis Ruddimanni, 2 vols. Edin. folio.

48. Epiſtolæ Jacobi 4^i, &c. of which Ruddiman was the editor, 1 vol. Edin. 8vo. 1722.

50. Epiſtolæ Jacobi 4^i, &c. vol. 2. Edin. 8vo. 1724.

49. Ovidii Decerpta ex Metamorphoſeon; libris notis Anglicis, Willimottii et Ruddimanni. Edin. 12mo. 1723.

51. Grammaticæ Latinæ Inſtitutiones, &c. Pars Prima. Edin. 8vo. 1725.

57. Pars Secunda. Edin. 8vo. 1731.

53. Selecta Poemata Archibaldi Pitcarnii. The preface by Ruddiman. Edin. 8vo. 1727.

59. A Diſſertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Language, &c. with remarks on John Clarke. 1733.

63. Buchanan's Pſalms; with notes by Profeſſor Robert Hunter, T. Ruddiman, and John Love. 1737.

65. Diplomata & Numiſmata Scotiæ. The preface, &c. by Ruddiman. Edin. folio. 1739.

66. Critical Remarks on Burman's 1740.

Notes

The Year of his own Age.		The Date when each was finiſhed.
	Notes on Ovid's Works. MS. folio, pp. 87, not publiſhed.	
68.	Scott's Sermon on Pſalm xi. 7. The preface by Ruddiman.	1742.
59-68.	The Catalogue of the Advocate's Library, begun in 1733, and printed, except the laſt page, in 1742.	1733 1742.
71.	A Vindication of Buchanan's Paraphraſe of the Pſalms. Edin. 8vo.	1745.
71.	Notes on Burman's Lucan. MS. folio, pp. 40, not publiſhed.	1745.
73.	An Anſwer to Logan's late Treatiſe on Government. Edin. 8vo.	1747.
74.	A Diſſertation, concerning the Competition for the Crown of Scotland, between Robert Bruce and John Baliol. Edin. 8vo.	1748.
75.	Animadverſions on a late Pamphlet, intitled, A Vindication of Geo. Buchanan, &c. Edin. 8vo.	1749.
77.	Titi Livii Opera. Edin. 4 vols. 12mo. Ruddiman was the editor.	1751

78. A

The Year of his own Age.		The Date when each was finiſhed.
78.	A Letter to Mr. John Garden, as to the manner, in which the Romans pronounced their own language. MS. 4to. pp. 25. not publiſhed.	1752.
80.	Anticriſis; or a Diſcuſſion of a ſcurrilous and malicious Libel, publiſhed by one James Man of Aberdeen. Edin. 8vo.	1754.
82.	Audi Alteram Partem, &c. Edin. 8vo.	1756.

Ruddiman, as he delighted in ſtudy, collected, at a great expence, a library, from which, having derived many of the advantages, and pleaſures, of life, he hoped for poſthumous fame. As a collector of books he began early, and continued late. When he made an inventory of his effects, on the 13th of October 1746, he valued his library, to which many volumes had been recently added, at three hundred pounds, though it had coſt him five hundred. When he made a ſimilar eſtimate of his property, on the 15th of May 1750, he appraiſed his library at four hundred pounds, as it had been much enlarged, ſince 1746. The *Bibliotheca Ruddimanniana* was rather a ſelection of the moſt valuable editions, than a collection of rare claſſics, either of the original works, or of early tranſlations of them, which are the only claſſics, during the infancy of

of literature. Ruddiman made a catalogue of his books with his own hand, which ſhows his judgment, as to the proper claſſes, in which ſuch a library ought to be arranged. This catalogue was printed, after his deceaſe, (*i*) under the following title, and comprehended the ſubjoined arrangement.

BIBLIOTHECA ROMANA, ſive, *Catalogus Auctorum*, tam eorum qui verè *Romani*, aliàs *Claſſici* appellantur, quàm plerorumque illorum qui literas Romanas reſtituerunt, vel quoquo modo iis excolendis promovendiſque operam impenderunt: *Quorum fere omnium* Optimas accuratiſſimaſque *Editiones*, ingenti tum ſumptu, tum induſtriâ, collegit, et in ordinem digeſſit THOMAS RUDDIMANNUS, A.M. Inclyti, quod in Scotia eſt, *Juriſconſultorum Collegii*, per quinquaginta pene Annos, *Bibliothecarius*.

Librorum in hac Bibliotheca contentorum ſeries et diſpoſitio.

CLASSIS I.

1. Scriptores Latini, qui Claſſici appellantur, ſe-

(*i*) It was printed at Edinburgh, by Walter Ruddiman and Co. 8vo, pp. 112, 1757. In the MS. catalogue I obſerve the following note, on the edition of Horace, Lutet. 1553. 4to. "This given to Dr. James Douglas of London, "who made it his buſineſs to collect all the editions of Ho"race. I gave him other two, which he had not." Several other books are marked, *given away*. Ruddiman, then, may be conſidered as a *generous* collector of books.

cundum

cundum temporum quibus claruerunt ſeriem diſpoſiti.

2. Fragmenta veterum Scriptorum Latinorum.
3. Vetera quædam Poemata Latina, de quorum Auctoribus, vel ætate, quâ vixerint, inter eruditos haud convenit, vel denique, quæ minoris pretii habentur.
4. Scriptores quidam antiqui, quorum ætas ignorantur, vel qui ad ſuperiores Claſſes minùs commodè reduci poſſunt.
5. De Jure civili, ſive Romano, libri.

Classis II.

1. Patres Eccleſiaſtici, aliique auctores Chriſtiani vetuſtiores, qui Latinè ſcripſerunt: ſervato quo quiſque claruerit temporis ordine.
2. Poëtæ Latini Chriſtiani, qui ante Seculum 15. claruerunt, ſecundum temporum, quibus vixerunt, ſeriem diſpoſiti.

Classis III.

1. Grammatici, aliique auctores veteres, qui de Latina lingua ſcripſerunt.
2. Grammatici Latini recentiores, alphabetico ordine digeſti.

Classis IV.

1. Poëtæ Latini recentiores.
2. De Poëſi et Poëtis in genere ſcriptores.

Classis

Classis V.

1. Oratores Latini recentioris ætatis.
2. De Rhetorica ſcriptores Latini recentiores.

Classis VI.

Epiſtolographi, ſeu epiſtolarum Latinarum recentioris ævi, ſcriptores.

Classis VII.

Philologi, literatores, critici, aliique id genus eloquentiæ Romanæ inſtauratores, promotores et excultores.

Classis VIII.

Lexicographi, aliique dictionariorum, gloſſariorum, vocabulariorum, et cujuſcunque generis, ſive alphabeti ordine, ſive per locos communes digeſtorum, ſcriptores; non Latini modo, ſed et Græci, Gallici, Anglici, Germanici, &c.

Quibus adduntur grammatici Græci.

Classis IX.

De puerorum recta educatione, eorumque ſtudiis, præſertim in lingua Latina rite ac prudenter dirigendis, libri. Item, Diverſorum auctorum de ſtudiis in qualibet arte vel ſcientia rite inſtituendis, præcepta et conſultationes.

CLASSIS X.

1. Bibliothecarii, et de libris in genere, ſcriptores.
2. Virorum eruditione illuſtrium vitæ & elogia.
3. Scriptores aliquot miſcellanei.
4. Auctores nonnulli, qui præcipuam nominis famam propter ſermonis Latini eloquentiam et caſtitatem ſibi pepererunt.
5. Inſignium aliquot bibliothecarum catalogi.

In each of thoſe *claſſes*, the collection was various, ſelect, and numerous. Such was the library of Ruddiman! Though he had once deſigned to bequeath it to the *Faculty of Advocates*, his generoſity was, in the end, overruled by his juſtice. It remained, of courſe, in his poſſeſſion till his death; and no purchaſer of the whole collection appearing, it was ſold, by auction, at Edinburgh, in February 1758.

With all his genius, his knowledge, and his judgment, Ruddiman was one of thoſe wiſe, and virtuous, men, who could not bring their minds to approve of the Revolution, in 1688. Whether he thought the greatneſs of the neceſſity inſufficient to juſtify the extent of the meaſure; or ſuppoſed, that a bad adminiſtration might have been meliorated, by leſs violent meaſures; cannot now be known. He plainly admitted, however, when preſſed upon the point, that an extraordinary

a

traordinary revolution may be juſtified, by an urgent neceſſity, though he did not allow, that every petty clamour ought to warrant an uncommon change. And he was, of conſequence, as a politician a *jacobite*, though he was too wiſe, to be violent, and too virtuous, to be refractory. (*k*)

" My principles," Ruddiman has been heard to ſay, " induce me to be a quiet ſubject, and a " good citizen:" " Your maxims," addreſſing himſelf to his opponents, " lead you, on every " occaſion, into the ſeditious conſpiracies of Ca- " tiline, or into the wild proſcriptions of Sylla." He admitted, however, that any illegal act might be reſiſted, either by a greater, or a leſs force: but, his reading had not furniſhed him with the example of a conſtitution, which allowed, that *the laws* might be reſiſted by any perſons, for any cauſe. When the tax was laid upon plate, his wife propoſed to follow the pattern, which was ſhewn by the friends of government, who endeavoured to evade it: " No," ſaid Ruddiman to her, mildly, " let us act juſtly, and ſubmit to

(*k*) In the pamphlet, entitled, *Furius*, it is ſaid. p. 18. " This gentleman [Ruddiman] being bred up in the princi- " ples of the nonjurant clergy in Scotland, became a *violent* " *champion for their cauſe*." On this paſſage, our grammarian has a MS. note: " T. R. was never violent in any " cauſe, far leſs in that, unleſs it be called violence, in one " to defend his own principles, when attacked."

" the

" the powers that be, as we are commanded, in " every thing, which does not interfere with the " rectitude of our hearts, or the peace of our " conſciences." For acting, in this manner, like a true Chriſtian, and a good ſubject, Ruddiman was inſulted by Logan, the political preacher, as the *ſlave* of *non-reſiſtance*.

It was perhaps Ruddiman's reputation for *jacobitiſm*, which induced Mr. John Pinkerton to publiſh, in one of his books, the following charge of uncommon jacobitiſm. " Ruddiman was a " warm friend of royalty, and of the Houſe of " Stuart, ſo much ſo, that he firmly believed, " and often repeated, in converſation, that every " one of that line, who was to aſcend the throne, " was born with a red lion impreſſed on his " right arm." And, Mr. Pinkerton added, in an authenticating note, " This was told to the " author [Pinkerton] by the late ingenious Doc- " tor [Gilbert] Stuart, a relation of Ruddiman's, " and who had often heard Ruddiman inſiſting " on this." (*l*)

I have traced this tale, through all the mazes of its error, and all the ſhifts of its malevolence; in order to diſcover, if Ruddiman was chargeable with the imputed folly, by giving way to ſuch weakneſs. As women are generally the witneſſes of men's imbecillity, I aſked the wo-

(*l*) See *The Inquiry into the Hiſtory of Scotland*, which was publiſhed at London, 1789, the Introduction.—p. 58-59.

men

men of Ruddiman's family, if they had ever heard him "repeat in converſation" ſuch a tale: but, they anſwered, "Never." I inquired of thoſe perſons, who for ſeven years had read, and written, for him, when he could not read, or write, for himſelf, if they had ever heard Ruddiman "inſiſting on this" foolery; but, having never heard of Mr. Pinkerton's book, they were ſurprized, that ſuch a queſtion ſhould be aſked, much more, that ſuch a charge ſhould be made. I converſed on this ſubject with the father of Doctor Gilbert Stuart, the late Profeſſor George Stuart, who, having lived long in intimacy with Ruddiman, might have known his ſecrets. The profeſſor ſaid, laughingly, "That having been "once with Mr. Ruddiman to hear a ſermon "of Mr. Harper, (*m*) the preacher ſaid, that *an "uſurper is eaſily known from the right heir, by "wanting the royal mark of a lion on his arm*; that "walking from church, Mr. Ruddiman aſked "him, how he liked that part of the ſermon; to "which he anſwered, that he muſt firſt examine "his arm, for the infallible mark, before he "could tell, whether he were a baſtard. This

(*m*) Mr. Harper, the epiſcopal miniſter, was a man of too ſolid an underſtanding to entertain ſuch follies, and a preacher of too much diſcretion to teach ſuch abſurdities, to intelligent auditors. He died at Edinburgh, in an advanced age, on the 19th of December 1765, and was regretted by thoſe, who admired his talents, and knew his worth.

" anſwer," ſaid the profeſſor, " made Mr. Rud-
" diman ſmile, but did not provoke a reply."
Here, then, is the embryo of the ſtory, which Gilbert Stuart, by his creative powers, firſt amplified into falſehood, and, by frequent repetition, at length impoſed upon credulity, as a fact.

I have, in this manner, tried to perform the hard taſk of proving an unſatisfactory negative, in oppoſition to a confident affirmation. I will now endeavour to eſtabliſh a more convincing affirmative. Such was Gilbert Stuart's laxity of principle, as a man, that he conſidered ingratitude as one of the moſt venial of ſins. Such was his conceit as a writer, that he regarded no one's merits but his own. Such were his diſappointments, both as a writer, and a man, that he allowed his peeviſhneſs to four into malice; and indulged his malevolence till it ſettled in corruption. Forgetting that his family owed favours to Ruddiman, Gilbert Stuart became habitually active in repaying obligations with injuries. He firſt attempted to detract from Ruddiman's reputation, as a ſcholar, and afterwards laboured to ruin his character, as a man. With the mean deſign, of gaining theſe malicious objects, he made Mr. Pinkerton the dupe of his profligacy, who liſtened with open ears, to the improbable falſhood, which, with ready pen, he haſtened to divulge to the world, without enquiring

quiring much about its origin, or caring little about its end:"— (*n*)

" Rumores fuge, ne incipias novus author haberi."

While the ſtory of *the red lion* was yet ſtruggling for admittance among the buſy, and belief

(*n*) In proof of the affirmative, which I undertook to eſtabliſh, I beg leave to lay before the reader a letter from the Rev. Robert Walker, whom I have already mentioned, as the amanuenſis of Ruddiman, dated at Watlington, Norfolk, the 9th of February 1791, and to whom I had written concerning the ſtory of the red lion:—" Your letter gives " the firſt hint to me of the idle traditionary report, concern- " ing the impreſſion of a red lion on the arm of the prince, " in the Stewart-line, deſtined for ſovereignty. And it is, I " think, a ſcurrilous reflexion on the judgment of a man, " who was ſo cautious of retailing anecdotes by word, or " writing, as Mr. Ruddiman, without ſtrict hiſtorical evi- " dence. From himſelf I had no ſuch information; and if " any ſuch ſtory reſted on his authority, or became current, " I lived too long in Edinburgh, and its vicinity, not to be " told of a circumſtance ſo common. Mr. Ruddiman lived " long, but he never talked at random, or repeated legendary " tales, as facts. He did not ſo far ſurvive himſelf as to ſink " into dotage, and retained a clear judgment till he loſt the " uſe of ſpeech. Your incidental mention of the late Doctor " Gilbert Stuart ſolves the myſtery. That he was altogether " free from literary pride, I would not affirm. Of Mr. Pin- " kerton, I know nothing. But, Dr. Stuart was jealous of all " contemporary writers, and treated moſt adventurers, in that " line, as Sciolifts, and Garretteers. If any of them came to " him for information, he would amuſe them with fictitious " anecdotes; and vilify them for their credulity afterwards. " Mr. Ruddiman was his relation; but even him he did not

belief among the wiſe, a freſh attack was made on the fame of Ruddiman, from the hand, which, by erecting a monument, was to eternize his worth. " It had of late become faſhionable, it " ſeems, to ſpeak of Ruddiman, in terms of the " higheſt reſpect." (*o*) While the world was thus doing juſtice to Ruddiman, faction imagined, during the buſy year 1792, that it would help the deſigns of party, to elevate Buchanan, and to depreſs Ruddiman, by reviving the forgotten *Cen-*

" ſpare.—I was once converſing with the doctor about Mr. " Ruddiman's elaborate and critical account of Buchanan's " works, prefixed to the folio edition of 1715, and of his " maſterly ſkill in Latin proſody. His reply was, that, of " the former, Mr. Ruddiman was not the author, and that of " the latter he knew little or nothing. The preface, he " ſaid, was written by Mr. Walter Goodal. This cannot be " true, for ſuppoſe it was written in 1714, Mr. Ruddiman " was then forty, and the other ſcarcely exceeded the age of " a ſchool-boy. His, Mr. Ruddiman's, Treatiſe on Proſody, " inſerted in his grammar; his arrangement of Buchanan's " verſification, in all its kinds and combinations; his curious " remarks *De variis Buchanani Metris*, ſubjoined to the po- " etical works of Buchanan (as the other is prefixed to the " Pſalmorum paraphraſis,) and his very critical Vindication " of Buchanan from the objections of Lauder and Benſon, are " ſpecimens of his exquiſite ſkill in the minuteſt niceties of " Latin proſody. From theſe ſtrictures, I preſume you will " not heſitate to concur with me in opinion, that Doctor " Stuart did not ſcruple to miſlead Mr. Pinkerton, and had " no regard to Mr. Ruddiman's honour, as a grammarian, " editor, and critic."

(*o*) See Lord Gardenſtone's Miſcellanies, p. 257.

ſure

ſure of James Man, though Ruddiman had been dead five-and-thirty years. And, zeal once more ran about the ſtreets of Edinburgh, ſoliciting calumny to employ her uſual arts, for gaining the low objects of ſedition. It was one Callender, who has ſince been outlawed for ſeditious practices, that wrote Memoirs of Buchanan, as the vehicle of his attack on Ruddiman. It was Lord Gardenſtone, who publiſhed theſe Memoirs, in his book of Miſcellanies. Callender, then, filled the mortar with thoſe detractions, which were to blaſt the fame of Ruddiman: and Gardenſtone ſet the match to the murderous artillery.

In Lord GARDENSTONE'S MISCELLANIES, page 280, there is the following note: "Mr. "George Chalmers of London is at preſent "writing Ruddiman's Life, in which his treat-"ment of Buchanan ought to ſtand foremoſt."

Being in this manner called upon, I ſhall give my opinion of Ruddiman's treatment of Buchanan. And, I think, that it was exactly what it ought to have been. Ruddiman every where ſpoke of Buchanan as a great genius, as an extraordinary ſcholar, and as an admirable poet: He even wrote an elaborate vindication of Buchanan's Pſalms, againſt the hypercritical objections of auditor Benſon. As the editor of his works, Ruddiman endeavoured diligently, as we have ſeen, to correct the errors of the copyiſt and the printers; to aſcertain his dates; to adjuſt his

mis-ſtatement of facts; and to rectify his miſre-preſentation of characters. In performing theſe uſeful ſervices to Buchanan, and to the world, Ruddiman acted as an able editor, and a good man. Yet, muſt it be allowed, that emendatory critics have not hitherto, nor even Ruddiman himſelf, merited the high honours, which are due only to abſolute infallibility.

But, while Ruddiman did ample juſtice to Buchanan, as an author, he did not, with the abſurdity of the late James Man, or the folly of our preſent detractor, deem Buchanan perfect, as a man. He diſtinguiſhed accurately, as Dempſter (*p*) had done before him, between his *moral* principles, and his *intellectual* endowments. And they, who cannot, with Ruddiman, admire Buchanan's abilities, as a writer, yet, at the ſame time, deſpiſe his character, as a man, have many prejudices of party to conquer, and many leſſons of morality to learn.

When Ruddiman ſat down, at the age of forty, to publiſh the works of Buchanan, he regarded his author, as more miſtaken than fraudulent; but, when he had advanced beyond his grand climacteric, he diſcovered his author to have been more fraudulent than miſtaken. Like a true critic, he treated Buchanan, according to the lights, in

(*p*) In that very rare book, *Scotorum Scriptorum Nomenclatura.*

which

which he beheld him; gently as a miſtaken man; roughly as a fraudulent man. Nevertheleſs, he did not accuſe Buchanan of crimes: he did not reproach him with ingratitude; though it muſt be admitted, that he did ſtate facts, in his notes on Buchanan's life, from which ingratitude might have been inferred by a malicious adverſary. Such was Ruddiman's conduct, as the editor of Buchanan, in 1715. And, it was not till Ruddiman had been perſecuted, for almoſt forty years, by bigotted pertinacity, that he did ſay, Buchanan had been *acceſſary to forgery*; that he did inſiſt on Buchanan's *ingratitude*, by publiſhing, in 1749, the letter of privy-ſeal, whereby Queen Mary conferred on "Maiſter George Buchquhanan, for all the dayis of his liffe, an zeirlie "penſioune of five hundred pundis, uſual money "of this realme." (*q*)

Yet,

(*q*) Animadverſions on the Vindication of Geo. Buchanan, Appendix, No. 1. being a copy from the record. In December 1567, there paſſed an act of parliament, confirming all gifts and penſions by our ſovereign Lord's mother, ſince Auguſt 1560. [1 Ja. 6. No. 20, of Glendook's Acts.] This parliamentary confirmation, after the expulſion of Mary, had a ſad effect on the gratitude of the times. Of the real value of that annuity we may form an adequate judgment from the ſubjoined extract of a letter [In the paper office] from Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambaſſador, to Cecil, her miniſter, dated at Edinburgh, the 26th of February 1561.—"There "are now growing new controverſies between the Lord "Gray and Lord Hume, for the receate of money for at"temptates. The Lord Gray lookethe to be paid as money

Yet, our writer of Memoirs now comes forward, with a happy mixture of ignorance, and ſophiſtry, to inſiſt, that Mary never granted a penſion to Buchanan; that it was impoſſible the ſuperſtitious Mary ever would prefer an apoſtle of rebellion, as a penſioner; that, of conſequence, the charge of perſonal ingratitude to his ſovereign is unfounded. The ſophiſter deſignedly turns his face from the letter of privy-ſeal, which demonſtrates, that *the Queen* gave *the apoſtle* a penſion, on the 9th of October 1564. He, therefore, *argues* againſt *the fact:* And, he attempts, to lead his readers into a wilderneſs of ſophiſms,

" is current in England. The Lord Hume ſtandeth upon " an old cuſtom of four pound Scottiſh for one pound En- " gliſh. The matter hath been debated here in counſel; and " I am required to write their opinions, which are, that in " as much as the cuſtom is ancient and never otherwyſe uſed, " and that at other tymes, when the 2 d. peeces of England " were no more worth than the babye of this country, wch " is in value but 1 d. yet they were content to receive the 2 d. " peece as it was then current, loſing a ob. in every peece " they took: They ſay that it is alſo impoſſible for them to " get Engliſh money, and the gold of Scotland is no more " current in England then their ſilver; bycauſe ther is " more preſently to demand owte of Scotland then is to be " geven from thence as (upon Monday next 60 l. ſterling, " to be pay'd for one byll, and ſhortly for three horſes of " the Lord Gray's.)"—Such was the ſtate of Scotland, in 1561, when there was more difficulty to pay *ſixty* pounds, than there would be, at preſent, to pay ſix hundred thouſand!

that

that they may not behold the RECORD of Buchanan's CONVICTION.—The *apoſtle* did not apoſtatize till Mary had no longer any penſion to give.

With genuine conſiſtency, our Memoir-writer, nevertheleſs inſiſts, that Murray may have adviſed this act of munificence, though Mary conferred it. We have, however, the evidence of a record, that the Queen gave the penſion: but, there is no proof, that the miniſter adviſed it. Randolph, the friend of Buchanan, and the enemy of Mary, who was a witneſs of her bounty, informed Cecil, that the Queen had given Buchanan the temporalities of Corſragwell. (*r*) If then, the requital of evil for good be the definition of ingratitude, it is demonſtrated, that Buchanan, who wrote *the Detection of Mary's Doings*, was guilty of perſonal ingratitude to his beneficent ſovereign. I have ſtated all thoſe points, in direct anſwer to the before-mentioned call; in order to ſhew, that Ruddiman was right, and that his detractor is wrong.

Ruddiman, however, is not anſwerable for the miſconceptions, and miſrepreſentations, of thoſe, who, in their hiſtorical reſearches, have profited by his various labours. Nor, am I to juſtify

(*r*) Randolph wrote from Edinburgh, on the 24th of October 1564, to Cecil, "Buchanan hath the temporalities "of Corſragwell given him by *the* QUEEN." [Keith 259.] —He was made *penſionary* of Corſragwell.

what

what ſuch hiſtorians may have ſaid of Buchanan's forgeries, or Buchanan's perjuries. But, I will ſupport what Ruddiman did indeed aſſert, (*s*) in anſwer to a petulant challenge of Logan, "That "it can be demonſtrated, the Earls of Murray, "and Morton, the Biſhop of Orkney, the Lord "Lindſay, and the commendator of Dumferm-"ling, who ſwore, that the letters, which they "produced as Mary's, were none of her's; "but that thoſe, who ſwore the letters were her's, "were themſelves the forgers of them." The declaration of Murray and his colleagues, on the 10th of December 1568, (*t*) will for ever remain the record of their guilt. By the tenour thereof, they teſtified, avowed, and affirmed, upon their *honours* and *conſcience*, "That the ſaid "miſſive writings, ſonnetts, and obligations, "were undoubtedly the ſaid Queen's proper "hand write." When we recollect how clearly thoſe letters, and ſonnets, have been proved to be forgeries, (*u*) it is impoſſible to read that affidavit

(*s*) Anſwer to Logan, p. 291-2.

(*t*) It was publiſhed, in 1727, by Anderſon, in his Collect. vol. 2. p. 259; and in 1754, by Goodal, in his Appendix, No. 24.

(*u*) By Biſhop Leſlie, in 1569; by Mr. Goodal, in 1754; by Mr. Tytler, in 1760-90; but moſt deciſively by Mr. Whitaker, in 1789-90, who is of opinion, that the operative work, of forging the letters, was performed by Lethington, and of forging the ſonnets by Buchanan. The over-

davit without abhorrence. Thus, they ſwore, ſays Ruddiman, what no honeſt man can ſwear; not, (as they ought) that they *believed*, or *had ground to think*, theſe letters to Bothwell were written by Queen Mary: But, they ſwore, that theſe letters were *undoubtedly* her's. (*x*) Buchanan, indeed, did not ſwear: he only juſtified what his friends had ſworn!

Yet, the Memoir-writer feels no indignation at the perjury, which had provoked the contemptuous cenſure of Ruddiman. He ſays, with great coolneſs, that the *ground of objection to ſuch ſwearing is ridiculous*. He tells truly, that the evidence, ariſing *ex comparatione literarum*, is known to every mortal. And he aſſerts hiſtorically, what is not to be credited, *that ſuch oaths are adminiſtered every day in our courts of juſtice*. (*y*) But,—

"*Judicium reddit verum narratio vera.*"

The objection is not to the legality, or to the mode of the proof; the objection is not to Murray, and his colleagues, as competent witneſſes,

overpowering ſtrength of Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication* conſiſts, in proving an *alibi*; that is, he eſtabliſhes various *facts*, which, being *true*, prove *the impoſſibility* of the letters and ſonnets being genuine. Before *ſuch facts*, verbal criticiſms fly, like the falling leaves before the winter's blaſt.

(*x*) Anſwer to Logan, 292.

(*y*) Lord Gardenſtone's Miſcell. 255, 256-8.

to

to prove the ſimilarity of Mary's writing: But, the objection is, that when the witneſſes gave their teſtimonies, they ſwore poſitively, that the letters were undoubtedly Mary's, though they had not ſeen her write them; though they could not know that ſhe had written them; they ſwore poſitively that to be true, which they knew to be abſolutely falſe. Thus, have I once more ſhewn, that Ruddiman was right, and that his detractor is wrong.

Let us proceed a ſtep further in this nefarious tranſaction. During the conferences at York, Murray, and his colleagues, ſent to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, who acted as Elizabeth's commiſſioners, Secretary Maitland, James Macgill, George Buchanan, and Henry Balnaves, in order by *ſecret conference*, to ſhew them ſuch circumſtances, as ſhould induce the commiſſioners to judge Mary guilty of the ſaid murder. For this end, they ſecretly ſhewed the commiſſioners ſeveral letters, ballads, and other writings, which were cloſed in a little coffer of ſilver. And Maitland, Macgill, BUCHANAN, and Balnaves, did then, and there, ſaid the commiſſioners to Elizabeth, (z) "*conſtantly affirm the ſaid letters and other writings, "which they produced, of Mary's own hand, to be*

(z) See the commiſſioners' letter to Elizabeth, in Goodal's Appendix No. 47; and ſee particularly page 140–142.

" *her own hand indeed*; *and did* OFFER TO SWEAR " *and* TAKE THEIR OATHS THEREUPON." But, with what deſign did they affirm, and offer to ſwear to the genuineneſs of the letters, and other writings? With deſign, ſaid Elizabeth's commiſſioners, " *to condemne the Queene of Scottis of the* " *ſaid murder*." In this mirrour then, we behold Buchanan, acting as a ſecret agent, for a villainous purpoſe; he affirms writings to be genuine, which he did not know to be genuine: he offers to ſwear to the authenticity of *the* BALLADS, which he knew to be forgeries; and, with the ſpirit of an aſſaſſin, he attempts by *ſuppoſititious evidence*, to convict his Queen, and benefactreſs, of murder. Yet, our detractor charges Ruddiman with malicious error, in ſpeaking of Buchanan's ingratitude!

But, ſays the writer of his Memoirs, Buchanan did not forge the *letters*. For, the fabrication of them was the ſole contrivance of Maitland, as Mr. Whitaker has ſhewn: He might have alſo added, that Mr. Whitaker has equally proved, by ſtrong circumſtances, that Buchanan forged *the ballads*. (*a*) Now, according to our legal reaſoner, Buchanan was not guilty of forgery: for, he did not forge the bond: he only forged the bank-note. Nevertheleſs, Ruddiman never ſaid thus much, nor ſpoke thus plainly of Buchanan,

(*a*) Vindication, vol. 3. p. 58-69.

though

though he knew, that there exiſted ſufficient evidence to conſign him to indelible diſgrace.

This evidence, Mr. Whitaker, with an acuteneſs, which is peculiar to himſelf, hath at length found, and with a clearneſs, that ſeldom illuminates the world, has plainly produced. He has evinced, beyond the power of contradiction, that Buchanan publiſhed a *fabricated*, in place of a *genuine*, letter of the Earl of Lenox, the father of Darnley. By contraſting the real, with the fictitious, letter, Mr. Whitaker made the fabrication apparent to the dimmeſt eye: and, in this ſatisfactory manner, was the forgery fixed upon Buchanan, ſo as to ſtrike the dulleſt underſtanding (*b*).

But, our Memoir-writer inſiſts, that Buchanan did not rebel againſt his Queen; ſince *the rebels were victorious*. In his ſyſtem of ethics, it ſeems, the *event* diſcriminates the *offence:* the highwayman, who eſcapes the purſuit, is innocent: the regicide, who eludes detection, is guiltleſs. Yet, Ruddiman never ſaid, that Buchanan was a rebel, nor that his moral character ought to de-

(*b*) The *genuine* letter of the Earl of Lenox may be ſeen in Anderſon's Collections, vol. 1. p. 47: the *forged* letter of Lenox is in Anderſon, vol. 2. p. 111: and, ſee the two letters contraſted in Mr. Whitaker's Vindication, vol. 3. p. 335-7. And, ſee vol. 2. p. 85-86, how Buchanan managed his falſehoods, in his Detection, and his Hiſtory.

rive its genuine colour from his ultimate ſucceſs:—

——— " Careat ſucceſſibus, opto,
" Quiſquis ab eventu factâ notanda putat."

Our writer of Memoirs is pertinaciouſly determined to convict Ruddiman of aſſerting what cannot be defended: for, Ruddiman ſaid, it ſeems, that Buchanan had been appointed by James V. the preceptor of his baſtard ſon, James, the Prior of St. Andrews, inſtead of James, the Abbot of Kelſo. The detractor thus detects, in 1792, a petty error, which had been firſt diſcloſed to the world, by Mr. John Love, in 1749. (*c*) And which, Ruddiman confeſſed, (*d*) in 1754, that he had committed, with Le Clerc, Sibbald, and the other biographers, who preceded him. But, in our detractor's creed, *repentance* does not inſure *mercy*.

The fact is, that the Life which has been publiſhed, as if it had been written by Buchanan himſelf, though it was written by Peter Young, has egregiouſly miſled all the ſubſequent biographers. This life, notwithſtanding the commentary of Sibbald, and the annnotations of Ruddiman, is ſtill ſo obſcure as to be often unintelligible; it is ſo vague, as to be ſometimes contradictory; and it is ſo general, as to be frequently

(*c*) Vindication of Buchanan.
(*d*) Anticriſis, p. 130.

falſe.

falſe. Our Memoir-writer has given himſelf no trouble to illuſtrate the dark, to reconcile the oppoſite, or to detect the falſe. He is only active in fixing charges of abſurdity on thoſe, who wandered about in this maze of error, without finding the path-way of truth.

Our detractor raiſes the horſe-laugh of folly at Ruddiman, for endeavouring to rectify the life, which had aſſerted, that Mary appointed Buchanan the preceptor to her ſon, in 1565, at the time ſhe was only married, but not a mother. Yet, there is nothing abſurd in ſuppoſing, what Young ſtates, in his Life, and what Buchanan aſſerts, in his Hiſtory, that the grammarian, who was writing verſes to Mary, on her marriage, in 1565, may have been ſoon after deſtined to be the inſtructor of her future iſſue.

The zealots who, for two centuries, have defended Buchanan, not only as a great ſcholar, but as a man of perfect character, have ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that as he had never derived any favour from Mary, ſhe was not entitled to any gratitude from him. Our Memoir-writer, following this track of his predeceſſors, endeavours to ſhew againſt Ruddiman, what had been already ſhewn by his former antagoniſts, that Buchanan was appointed the principal of St. Leonard's College, by the Prior, and not by the Queen. This poſition is rather problematical than

than certain: (*e*) yet, there can be no doubt, but Mary made Buchanan *the penſioner of Corſragwell.*

It was, on this head, juſtly obſerved by Ruddiman, that if all had been true of Mary, which ambition had forged, and malice had ſpread, it was not for Buchanan, who lived on her bounty, to expoſe her faults. The envy of Elizabeth, the policy of Cecil, and the rivalry of Murray, might have found other pens to diſperſe their ſcandals. But, if it be true, that time has eſtabliſhed the innocence of Mary; if it be true, that *the Detection* of Buchanan is founded in forgery; what ſhall we ſay of his gratitude, as a penſioner, or of his morals, as a man? *The Detection*, thus falſe, and ſcandalous, had ere long ſunk into oblivion, but for the ſucceſſive ſtruggles of truth, to gain a deciſive aſcendency, over the malignities of faction. But, Buchanan, being without gratitude, and without morals, executed a deeper deſign, with a more malicious purpoſe. If he

(*e*) It is certain, as the records prove, that the dean and Chapter of St. Andrew's appointed James Wilkie to be the ſucceſſor of Buchanan, as principal of St. Leonard's, though Patrick Adamſon had been deſtined to that office by the parliament, on the recommendation of Buchanan, when he reſigned, in March 1569-70. Wilkie was admitted, and acted; but Adamſon never was admitted, nor acted. I am obliged to Mr. Profeſſor Barron for this important fact, who ſearched the univerſity records for me.

deliberately tranſcribed into his Hiſtory, (*f*) which, with his patrons, he hoped would be immortal, his malevolence, his falſehoods, and his forgeries, with the deſign of tranſmitting the diſgrace of Mary to futurity, the queſtion of his ingratitude, as it vaniſhes from our ſight, in the blaze of his knavery, leaves us only to inquire, if Buchanan were not one of the moſt profligate of men, in a moſt profligate age. (*g*)

The

(*f*) The fact is, that large paſſages were literally tranſcribed by Buchanan, from his Detection into his Hiſtory, as Ruddiman has remarked. [Animad. on Love's Vindication, p. 57.]

(*g*) I will give two ſtriking examples of the groſs profligacy of that reforming age. The *firſt* from a letter in the Paper-Office, dated at Edinburgh, the 12th October 1565, from Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's ambaſſador, in Scotland, to Sir William Cecil:——"By cawſe of one thinge your H.[onour] "ſhall not dowte, but knowe for certayne, that ſome wyſemen "are ennemies to this government, as the great and noblemen "the L.[aird] of Liddingeton is as farre in, in this matter as "any other. Of the ſame band and league are the Earl Morton "and L.[ord] Ruthen; theie onlye eſpye their tymes, and "mayke fayer wether untyll yt come to the pinche. I here "ſome good words ſpoken of the L.[ord] Erſken, but truſt not "myche untyll farther triall."—In this letter of Randolph, who was in *the ſecret* of thoſe affairs, and was the cauſe of that profligacy, we ſee, that LIDDINGTON, *the ſecretary of ſtate*, and MORTON, *the chancellor*, did not, with the bravery of *Murray*, run out into open rebellion: with a more fell deſign, they remained in the Queen's cabinet, in order to betray her. *Liddington*, not long after, forged the Queen's hand-writing, with the purpoſe of convicting her of murder. *Mor-*

ton

The late writer of the Memoirs of Buchanan, expecting doubtleſs to cover his diſgrace, under the artifice of recrimination, aſſerts, (*b*) "that "Mr. Ruddiman is ſometimes in the ſituation of "attempting to make a reader believe, *what he* "*does not believe himſelf.*" Yet, whatever may be our detractor's zeal of calumny, he brings no proof of his charge. He does not produce a ſingle paſſage, which Ruddiman wrote, and *did not believe himſelf.* Ruddiman was a man of piety; it is, therefore, improbable, that he would write what he did not himſelf believe. Ruddiman was a man of probity: it is, therefore, not to be credited, that he would propagate, what he did not himſelf

ton ere long aſſiſted Darnley in aſſaſſinating Rizzio, and afterwards helped Bothwell to aſſaſſinate Darnley. When we behold the *chancellor*, and *the ſecretary of ſtate*, acting with ſuch aggravated profligacy, what ought to be ſaid of the *morals of ſuch an age?*

The *ſecond* example is contained in a document, which I found in the *Paper Office*; and which proves, that "twa men, "the ane namyt Johnne Gibſonne, Scottiſhman, preacher, "and the other Johnne Willokis, deſcendit of Scottiſh proge-"nitors, now [the 22d April 1590,] baith lying in priſoun at "Leyceſter, were *convicted by a jury of robbery.*"—This *document* is an application by Sir Robert Melville, and others, to Queen Elizabeth for the pardon of the *two convicts.* And ſee Keith's Hiſtory of the Church and State of Scotland, p. 64-88-101-104-128-145-491, for an account of John Willocks, who was the reforming coadjutor of John Knox.—The two examples, which I have now ſubmitted to the reader, will, I flatter myſelf, ſufficiently ſhow, that the period, wherein Buchanan flouriſhed, was a moſt profligate age.

(*b*) Lord Gardenſtone's Miſcellanies, p. 257.

believe. And, Ruddiman acted, throughout a long life, upon the virtuous principle that,

"*Pulchra eſt concordia cordis et oris*;"

and ſo, was incapable of performing the profligate part, which is aſſigned him, by our dramatical manager of Buchanan's Memoirs.

When we ſee factiouſneſs renew the cenſures of zeal, which had often brought calumny to her aid, it is natural to aſk, who was Buchanan, whoſe witchery ſo long perſecuted Ruddiman, whoſe influence now violates decorum, and whoſe name continually agitates conteſt. This queſtion, however, can only be anſwered, by inſpecting, with ſome minuteneſs, *the Life* of Buchanan, which has, indeed, been written, by various perſons, though without any activity of diligence, or much attention, either to the authenticity of the incidents, or to the adjuſtment of the character.

Sir Robert Sibbald publiſhed, in 1702, the Life, which was certainly compiled by Sir Peter Young, and yet is ſtill ſaid to have been written by Buchanan himſelf, with a commentary, that ſupplied ſome circumſtances, without forming any juſt eſtimate of his perſonal worth. (*i*) Ruddiman endeavoured to amend the old narrative,

(*i*) *Commentarius in Vitam Georgij Buchanani, ab ipſomet Scriptam.* Edinb. ex Typ. Geo. Moſman. An. 1702—12°. There is a print prefixed, by James Clark, which repreſents Buchanan, as very old, and very ugly.

by

by aſcertaining dates, and to continue the biographical ſtory, by adding ſubſequent events. Yet, he left much to be done by future biographers, and ſomething to be conteſted by ſucceeding bigots, who have generally been too much engaged in controverſy, to find leiſure for any wide ſearch for additional facts; and too fond of admiration, to be able to form an accurate judgment of his genuine character. (*k*)

From the foregoing conſiderations, it ſhould ſeem, that the queſtion, *who was Buchanan*, may

(*k*) Early in the preſent century, George Crawfurd, the well-known writer of *the Officers of State*, addreſſed, "Pro-"poſals to the gentlemen of the ſurname of Buchanan, for "writing, and publiſhing, the life of the learned, and cele-"brated, hiſtorian Mr. George Buchanan, who *was director* "*of the chancery*, and lord privy ſeal of Scotland." He wrote the Life, of which I have extracts; but, he ſeems not to have received any encouragement to publiſh it. There were given out at Glaſgow, on the 20th of April 1751, printed propoſals for printing, by ſubſcription, the Life of the learned and celebrated hiſtorian, and antiquary, George Buchanan; by the late George Crawfurd, eſq. hiſtoriographer; but, it would ſeem, with no better ſucceſs. Strange! that Crawfurd, who had made ſo much inquiry about *the Officers of State*, ſhould have been of opinion with the vulgar, that Buchanan had ever been *the Director of the chancery*. Crawfurd, however, claims the honour of being the firſt, who diſcovered "Buchanan's parentage, which had never before "been diſcovered;" and which, after all his reſearches, he did not preciſely aſcertain. Were we to aſk the lateſt biographer of Buchanan, *who his father was reputed to be*, he could not tell.

wherein he was matriculated, in 1524. (*n*) Here, was his perſon noticed, his genius recognized, and his want ſupplied, by John Major, who was then a profeſſor in St. Saviour's college, and aſſeſſor to the Dean of Arts. (*o*) In October 1525, when Buchanan, was not yet twenty years of age, he obtained, in this univerſity, the degree of Bachelor of Arts. (*p*) It detracts nothing from the talents of Buchanan, that he was educated as a *pauper*. Major, returning to France, during the ſummer of 1526, carried Buchanan with him. He now placed the object of his kindneſs in what is at preſent called *the Scotch College of Paris*, which, at that time, had to boaſt of profeſſors, who were profoundly learned, and of ſtudents, who ſucceſſively diſplayed uncommon erudition. Irvine, who did not very diligently aſcertain the amount of the favours, which had been conferred by Major on Buchanan,

(*n*) Sibbald's Commentary, p. 65.

(*o*) M'Kenzie's Life of Major, vol. 2. p. 342. Irvine's Nomenclatura: The word *Major*.

(*p*) On the 3d of October 1525, George Buchanan appears in the liſt of Bachelors of Arts, on the Faculty Regiſter, with the letter P. ſubjoined to his name. This entry, with the ſignificant letter P. was made by the keeper of the Regiſter, at the time. The P. denotes that he was a pauper, or a burſar. For this entry, and other accurate information, I am indebted to the active kindneſs of Mr. profeſſor Barron, who ſearched the Univerſity Regiſters for me.

has

has yet reprobated with unqualified indignation, the ingratitude of Buchanan, who, after enjoying the patronage of Major, wrote contemptuously of his talents, by applying, with an allusion to his name, the well-known sarcasm, *Solo Cognomine Major*. (*q*) Buchanan, mean while, entered on his studies, with the ardour, which was natural to him. And, on the 10th of October 1527, he was admitted, in this college, to the degree of Bachelor of Arts; as he had already obtained the same degree, in the university of St. Andrew's. (*r*) Academic honours now fell fast upon him. In March 1528, when he was advanced into the twenty-second year of his age, he obtained the degree of Master of Arts. On the 5th of May 1529, he entered into competition with George Draipier, a German, *de procuratorio munere*: (*s*) But, Buchanan's countryman, Robert Wauchop, who had successively obtained, by his merit, every honour, which the university could bestow, (*t*) was, on that occasion, elected *nonâ vice*,

(*q*) Nomenclatura: The word *Major*.

(*r*) An. 1527, die 10ª. Mensis Octobris, Georgius Buchananus, Diocesis Glasguensis, admissus fuit ad gradum Baccalaureatûs, quem adeptus erat antea in Universitate S. Andreæ.——[Register of the Scots Coll. of that date.]

(*s*) The same Register of those dates.

(*t*) M'Kenzie's Lives, vol. 2. the preface p. vii. and the Register of the 5th of May 1529.

says

ſays the Regiſter. Upon his return to Paris, in 1526, Buchanan was ſoon ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm. Yet, he gained the object of his wiſhes, on the third of June 1529, when he was choſen *Procurator Nationis.* (*u*) It was about this time, probably, that he began to teach grammar, in the college of St. Barbe.

Mean time, Buchanan was entertained by Gilbert, Earl of Caſſilis, whom, for five years, he either pleaſed by his wit, or inſtructed by his knowledge. It was, during this intercourſe of pleaſure and advantage, that Buchanan tranſlated Linacre's grammar from the Engliſh into Latin, which he printed at Paris, in 1533, and which, being the firſt of his works, that was ſent from the preſs into the *world*, he dedicated to the Earl of Caſſilis, his pupil, with whom he returned to Scotland, in 1534.

Lord Caſſilis, at this time, carried Buchanan with him into the country, where the poet indulged his own temper, and pleaſed his patrons by ſatirizing the monks. In return, they accuſed the ſatiriſt of libertiniſm. This did not, however, prevent James V. who was himſelf a poet, and a

(*u*) An. 1529, die 3ª Menſis Junij, M. Georgius Buchananus, Levinianus, Dioceſis Glaſguenſis, electus fuit Procurator Nationis. [Extr. from the Coll. Reg.] For the curious, and ſatisfactory, extracts, from the Regiſter of the Scotch college, at Paris, I owe a kindneſs, and the public an obligation, to Mr. Gordon, the principal.

libertine, from appointing Buchanan, during the ſummer of 1536, the inſtructor of his natural ſon, James, by Elizabeth Shaw, of the family of Sauchie, who was afterwards the Abbot of Kelſo, and died without iſſue, in 1548. (*x*) While thus employed, he was commanded by the King, it is ſaid, to write more ſevere ſtrictures on the Franciſcans, who, having offended their ſovereign, gave the King an opportunity of gratifying his ſpleen, at the expence of his policy. The poet, on that occaſion, produced, in an evil hour for his own quiet, the miſcellany, which was afterwards entitled *The Franciſcan.* The whole body of the clergy, who ſaw a ſtorm approaching, were offended at what they deemed an unprovoked attack. Cardinal Beaton exerted his power to avenge their cauſe. The poet was impriſoned in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, from which, he was delivered by the interpoſition of Beaton, a nephew of the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow. (*y*) Buchanan, fearing for his life, though the purpoſe had probably been, to correct his petulance, more than to injure his perſon, made his eſcape, in February 1538-9, to England; where he found Henry VIII. perſecuting, with peculiar impar-

(*x*) Crawfurd's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 38. It was not, then, James Stuart, the regent, whom Buchanan had the honour of inſtructing, as Sibbald, Ruddiman, and the other biographers, have miſtakingly related.

(*y*) Jebb, vol. 2. p. 486.

tiality,

tiality, both the Proteſtants and Papiſts. In this extremity, the poet was protected by Sir John Rainsford, who enabled him to make his retreat into France. (z) At Paris, he is ſaid, contradictorily, by the original writer of his life, to have met his old perſecutor the Cardinal, who had gone there as ambaſſador from Scotland. And, Buchanan, fearing for his ſafety at Paris, was induced, to accept the invitation of Andrew Govea, who made him one of the teachers, in the new college at Bourdeaux. Here, was he inſtructing ſcholars, and writing poems, when the Emperor Charles V. came, there in November 1539, to whom he preſented very elegant flattery, in ſome charming verſes.

At Bourdeaux, he taught for three years; and in this period, he compoſed his four tragedies, with the deſign, as it is ſaid, to draw the youth of France, from modern allegories to ancient models. Being frightened from his elegant, and uſeful, labours, by the plague, he returned, in 1544, to Paris, where he taught, for ſeveral years, the ſecond claſs, in the college of Bourbon. It

(z) Randolph's Letter to Peter Young, 15th March 1579-80, Epiſt. Buch. Op. Rud. edit.—That part of the Life of Buchanan, from his return to Scotland, with the Earl of Caſſilis, till his eſcape, is ſo groſsly miſrepreſented, that it would require much time, and ſpace, to rectify the miſtatements, and explode the falſities. The only defence, which the fair inquirer after truth has againſt falſhood, is not to believe improbabilities, without proof.

was,

was, probably, during this period, that Buchanan acted as one of the domeſtic tutors of Montaigne.

At the age of forty-one, he accepted the invitation of the King of Portugal, by means of Andrew Govea, with whom going to Liſbon, in 1547, he was appointed one of the profeſſors, in the new college of Coimbra. He loſt his friend Govea by the ſtroke of death, in 1548. The times were turbulent, and our profeſſor was imprudent: he ate, and he talked, in a manner, that offended the prejudices of the country. For theſe offences, he was, in 1549, committed to priſon, where he lay a year and a half; and whence he was only releaſed to be ſent to a monaſtery, in the cells of which, he might learn of the monks the uſe of obſervances, and the benefits of ſilence. It was in this confinement, that he began to tranſlate the Pſalms into ſuch a verſion as will preſerve his memory, when his other writings ſhall be no longer read.

Being at length diſcharged, he was maintained awhile by the King's bounty. But, wiſhing for independence, or deſiring change, he ſailed, in 1552, for England, which being then too much convulſed, by the ambition of nobles, to afford him a livelihood, he went to Paris, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Metz, on the 26th of December 1552. During an age, when every battle

tle had its poet, this event, he was induced to celebrate in a poem, which he wrote unwillingly; knowing that his friend Sangelaſius had already, on the ſame topick, exerciſed his happy muſe.

In July 1554, he ſent his Jephthes to the preſs. (*a*) This fine tragedy, he dedicated to the Mareſchal de Briſſac, who was, by this attention, induced to employ Buchanan, as the teacher of his ſon, Timoleon de Coſſé, who roſe to be an accompliſhed gentleman, and a great commander. In the ſituation of tutor, our poet continued, during five years, going with his pupil ſometimes into Italy, and frequently into France. In this ſtation it was, that he wrote his learned poem on the Sphere. He found leiſure, during theſe peregrinations, for ſtudying polemics, which furniſhed topicks of preſent correſpondence, and ſupplied motives of future action.

He probably fixed his reſidence at Paris, in 1560, but without any certain ſubſiſtence. In this diſtreſs, he naturally applied to Queen Mary, who, with her uſual munificence, accepted his verſes, and relieved his wants. (*b*) Being now without employment, he, at the end of four-and

(*a*) Jephthes ſive votum Tragoedia, Authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto. Pariſijs M.D.LIIII. Apud Guil. Morelium.

(*b*) Mem. of Caſtelnau, in Jebb, vol. 2. p. 486.

twenty

twenty years, returned to Scotland, ſome time in 1561, at the age of fifty-five, but without having any permanent proviſion. (*c*)

On his return to Scotland, in 1561, Buchanan had the gratification to find, that his old enemy the cardinal had been aſſaſſinated, the Franciſcans expelled, and that the reformers were triumphant. He

(*c*) At what time Buchanan finally returned to Scotland, has been a ſubject of diſpute. Ruddiman cogently reaſoned, "That, as he aſſerts himſelf to have been abſent "four-and-twenty years, and departed, in 1539, he muſt "have come back in 1563." But, reaſonings muſt give way to facts. The ſubjoined extract of an original letter, in the paper-office, from the well-known envoy, Thomas Randolph, to Mr. Secretary Cecil, dated at Edinburgh, the 30th January 1561, demonſtrates, that Buchanan was certainly at the court of Mary, in January 1561-2, and had been probably in Scotland, for ſome months before:—"Yt is nowe "thoughte upon agayne whoe is fetteſte to be ſent from "thys Quene t'attende upon the Quene's Ma^tie for the "better contynuance of intellegence w^th her Hyghnes. "Of anye that I knowe David Forreſte is lyklyeſte, and "moſte deſyerethe. He is reſtored agayne unto his office. "Ther is w^th the Quene, one called Mr. George Bowhanan, "a Scottiſhe man, verie well lerned, that was ſchollemaſter "unto Mons^r de Briſack's ſone, very godlye, and honeſt, "whome I have allwayes judged fetter than anye other that "I know."—Our great poet was then only *one* Bowhanan, who had been a *ſcholle-maſter*, and was *very well learned*. But, Randolph and Buchanan ſoon became better acquainted. I incline to think, with Mr. John Love, that Buchanan returned to Scotland, in May 1561, with the Lord James, the prior of St. Andrew's, who ere long became the Earl of Murray, and the patron of Buchanan. [*Vindication*, p. 61.]

only

only followed his inclination, when he joined the popular throng, and avowed his unqualified proteſtantiſm. Yet, he attended the court of Mary, who had alſo returned to her native kingdom, in Auguſt 1561; and, was by Mary, choſen ſoon after to be the ſuperintendant of her ſtudies. (*d*) He was naturally noticed by parliament, when he was thus diſtinguiſhed by the Queen. The parliament, which aſſembled at Edinburgh, in June 1563, appointed Buchanan, among other perſons, who were either high in office, or noted for knowledge, "to inſpect the revenues of the univerſi-"ties, and to report a model of inſtruction." He was by the aſſembly of the kirk, named, on the 29th of December 1563, among thoſe, who were moſt conſiderable for rank, or eminent for literature, "to reviſe the Book of Diſcipline." (*e*) And, in June 1564, he dedicated his *Franciſcanus ad Fratres* to the Earl of Murray, whoſe power he knew, and whoſe patronage he courted.

The foregoing events did not check the bene-

(*d*) This anecdote is contained in the following extract of a letter from Randolph to Cecil, dated at St. Andrew's, the 7th of April 1562, in the Paper Office:—"The Queen "readeth daily, after her dinner, inſtructed by a learned "man Mr. George Bowhannan, ſomewhat of Lyvie."—This tranſaction did honour to both parties: to Mary, in thus employing her leiſure: to Buchanan, in having ſuch a ſcholar to inſtruct, in the beauties of Livy.

(*e*) Keith, 529.

ficence

ficence of Mary, which was only bounded by her fortune. On the 19th of October 1564, the Queen gave the poet a penſion of five hundred pounds Scots, during his life. In fact, ſhe conferred, on the object of her bounty, the whole temporalities of the abbey of Corſragwell, (*f*) after the abbot, Quintin Kennedy, who was the brother of his old ſcholar, the Earl of Caſſilis, had been driven away, in 1563, by perſecution. From the epoch of that munificent grant, Buchanan called himſelf, in his official documents, *the penſioner of Corſragwell.* (*g*) Crawfurd comforts himſelf, by reflecting, that other great men, who had obtained grants of eccleſiaſtical revenues, were alſo called *penſioners.* If we recollect, that the higheſt ſtipend of the Proteſtant miniſters was then only three hundred marks, this muſt be allowed to have been a handſome proviſion for a needy poet. (*h*) When he was about to publiſh his Pſalms, in 1565, having the Queen's bounty freſh in his recollection, he dedicated that

(*f*) Keith, p. 259.—Ruddiman, as we have ſeen, publiſhed *the letter of Privy Seal,* containing the penſion. [Animad. on Buch. Vindic. Apx. No. 1.]

(*g*) Sibbald's Commentary, p. 20.

(*h*) The Scots money was, at that time, as ſix to one of the Engliſh. [Keith's Apx. 118.]

fine verſion to his royal benefactreſs, in thoſe elegant verſes, beginning:

> " Nympha, Caledoniæ quæ nunc feliciter oræ
> " Miſſa per innumeros ſceptra tueris avos."

Buchanan, who then reſided at St. Andrew's, was in future to exhilarate the gaieties, or to participate in the diſaſters, of his country. He preſented verſes to the Queen on her marriage, the 29th of July 1565. (*i*) He offered his *Strena* to Darnley, at the commencement of the year 1566. (*k*) And, when Murray, his patron, having acted rebelliouſly, was denounced a rebel; when the adherents of that ambitious baſtard were threatened with puniſhment, if they ſhould diſturb the country; Buchanan probably thought it prudent, at the verge

(*i*) In Keith, 540, there is a record, which proves, that Buchanan then lived at St. Andrew's. He was at Edinburgh on the 24th of July 1566, when he wrote to Peter Daniel, *amid the occupations of the court, and the inconvenience of ſickneſs*; complaining of the typographical errors of his Pſalms; and ſending him copies of his poems.

(*k*) It was acutely remarked by Ruddiman, that it is evident from *the Strena*, Buchanan was in Scotland, on the 1ſt of January 1565-6. [Animad. 63.] By conſidering this, and the fact mentioned in the preceding note, I have convinced myſelf, that Buchanan never removed to France, after the year 1561; though I once thought, that he had returned to Paris, when Murray was expelled from Scotland, in September 1565.

of

of ſixty, to court the ruling powers. Murray and his other friends were, however, reſtored, on the 29th of April 1566, after being driven from Scotland, by the diſingenuity of Elizabeth, and the diſapprobation of their countrymen. Buchanan was, about that time, appointed the principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrew's, which had been founded by James Hepburn, the prior, in Auguſt 1512. In that univerſity he was ſucceſſively choſen one of the four electors of the rector, during the years 1566, 1567, and 1568; and was even appointed vice-rector by the object of their choice. (*l*).

Mean time the murder of Rizzio, on the 29th of March 1565-6, the aſſaſſination of Darnley, on the 10th of February 1566-67, and the marriage of Mary with Bothwell, on the 16th of May 1567, were ſad events, which ſucceſſively influenced Buchanan's future fortunes. The general aſſembly of the kirk was convened at Edinburgh, on the 25th of June 1567, juſt ten days after the Queen's impriſonment. At the age of ſixty-one, Buchanan was unanimouſly choſen the moderator, who accepted the charge *pro hâc*

(*l*) Buchanan was choſen, on the 3d of November 1567, one of the aſſeſſors of the Dean of Faculty of Arts, who was to aſſiſt him, in taking trials for degrees. And he was choſen aſſeſſor for the laſt time, on the 2d of November 1569, as appears by the Univerſity Regiſters. [Sibbald's Commentary, 65.] But, it does not appear, that Buchanan, during that period, taught a claſs.

the period between the 18th of September, and the 20th of October 1568, that Buchanan drew up the firſt ſketch of his *Detection*, by order of the Scottiſh commiſſioners; (*p*) for the purpoſe of loading his ſovereign with guilt. In the *Detection* it was, that he publiſhed the fabricated, for the genuine, letter of Lennox. (*q*) The infamous ſcene of thoſe unfair tranſactions was at length ſhifted from York to Hampton Court.

Buchanan went, in October 1568, to Weſtminſter, where his talent for intrigue, and his readineſs of accommodation, were ſtill more neceſſary. Here, were the conferences again renewed by Elizabeth, with her wonted artifice, and carried on by Murray, with yet greater baſeneſs. It was on the 10th of December 1568, that Murray and his colleagues formally declared, "on their honours and conſciences, that the "miſſive writings, ſonnets, and contracts, were "Mary's proper hand-write;" though they knew the letters and ſonnets to be forgeries. (*r*). It was, during the ſubſequent conferences at Weſtminſter, that Murray and his colleagues exhibited Buchanan's *Detection*, in the firſt draft, as matter, which they offered to juſtify before Eliza-

(*p*) Anderſon's Collections, vol. 2. p. 262-3.

(*q*) Mr. Whitaker's Vindication, vol. 3. p. 235-7.

(*r*) See their affidavit in Anderſon's Collections, vol. 2. 259—and in Goodal's Apx. No. 24. vol. 2. p. 92.

beth and her miniſters. (*s*) Buchanan, in this manner, became the willing inſtrument of Elizabeth's deceit, and Murray's villanies; in order to diſgrace his benefactreſs. On the 11th of January 1568-9, Buchanan appeared at Hampton Court, with Murray and his colleagues, face to face with the Biſhop of Roſs and Mary's other commiſſioners, who accuſed Murray and his aſſociates of being the murderers of Darnley; and who offered to ſupport their accuſation by proofs. In this tranſaction, which has ſtained Scotland with laſting reproach, Buchanan acted his part and ſhared in the diſgrace. (*t*) On the next day, Murray, notwithſtanding this accuſation, was by the cunning of Elizabeth ſent away to Scotland, and, by the hatred of Elizabeth, was Mary detained in priſon!

In the midſt of thoſe iniquitous proceedings, Buchanan beſtowed his blandiſhments on the court of London. He offered, on the 1ſt of January 1568-9, *a New Year's Ode* to Elizabeth, in which, with poetic licence, he gave her the mind of Minerva, and the form of Venus. He flattered the wife, and daughter, of Ceeil, with ſeveral copies of appropriate verſes. He preſented an encomiaſtic ſonnet to Anthony Coke and his learned daughters. (*u*) Whether Bu-

(*s*) Anderſon's Collections, vol. 2. 263.

(*t*) See the record in Goodal's Apx. No. 122. vol. 2. 307.

(*u*) Rud. Buch. vol. 2. 95-6.

chanan were diſmiſſed with a ſolid penſion for his empty praiſe, I think uncertain, notwithſtanding the aſſertions of biographers, (x) who too often believe, without cauſe, and aſſert, without proofs.

Buchanan returned to St. Andrew's, in April 1569; (y) and now performed the more quiet functions of St. Leonard's College. On the 2d of November 1569, he was appointed, for the laſt time, aſſeſſor to the Dean of the Faculty of Arts. And, in March 1569-70, he reſigned the office of principal to Patrick Adamſon, who appears, from the records, to have never acted, though he had been recommended by Buchanan, and was approved by the parliament. It was at the convention of eſtates, which aſſembled at Edinburgh, in March 1569-70, "for taking order "in the affairs of this common wealth," that Buchanan was permitted to reſign his charge in the univerſity, with the deſign of dedicating his whole attention to King James, who had entered the fifth year of his age. The nomination of Buchanan to this great truſt was not by the ſtates, as biographers have ſuppoſed; (z) for,

(x) Mackenzie's Life of Buchanan, which quotes the Cotton MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum. Notes to Scot's *Staggering State of Scotch Statesmen*, p. 110.—Mackenzie is not juſtified by the Cotton Manuſcripts; yet, he may have received preſents for his poetry, like Eraſmus, and the other poets of that profligate period.

(y) Sibbald's Commentary, 66.

(z) See the record in Ruddiman's Notes on Buchanan's Life, 9.

he

he had been already nominated preceptor, in 1565, if we may believe his own aſſertion. (*a*) And thus, does Buchanan himſelf aſcertain the diſputed fact, that he was certainly nominated preceptor by the Queen herſelf, at ſome period prior to the ſad epoch of her extorted abdication; (*b*) though the exact date cannot at preſent be clearly aſcertained.

Buchanan was meantime deprived of his patron, the earl of Murray, by a ſtroke of revenge from the hand of Hamilton, by which he fell, on the 8th of January 1569-70. Buchanan wrote his epitaph and panegyrick with a grateful pen. And, our poet and politician gave vent to unqualified indignation, by writing "*Ane Admonition Direct* "*to the trew Lordis.*" (*c*) This is a party-pamphlet,

(*a*) Buchanan ſays expreſsly in his hiſtory, [Rud. Buch. vol. 1. 386.] "Ut ex ijs, quos *mater*, antequam ſe regno ab-"dicarat, filio tutores, nominaverat."

(*b*) In the commiſſion, which appointed Thomas Buchanan the keeper of the privy ſeal, when George Buchanan his uncle reſigned in his favour, there is the following recital:— "That o^r So^erane Lord underſtanding ye trew and thank-"ful ſervice done to his maj^tie be his weill belovit clerk "Mr. George Buchquhannan, penſionar of Corſragwell, con-"tinuallie ſen his hienes coronatioun alſweill in inſtructing "of his majeſtie in virtue and letteres as uyerwyiſs upon "his perſon." [Record Privy Seal, 30 April 1578. B k. 45. fo. 57.]

(*c*) It was firſt printed by Robert Leckprevick, in 12mo. at Stirling, 1571: it was printed, at London, by John Day, in

phlet, compiled in party language, and for party purpoſes. He thereby endeavoured to turn the reſentment of man, and the wrath of God, upon the whole race of Hamilton. Of courſe, his tract, which was printed in 1571, was written in the accuſtomed ſpirit of recrimination, without candour, or moderation, or truth.

The death of Murray, which was regretted by Elizabeth with indecent ſorrow, was the cauſe of intereſting events, which gave employment to the talents, and diverſity to the life, of Buchanan. The Earl of Lennox was, after ſome delay, choſen regent, in the room of Murray, by Queen Elizabeth's influence. In his turn, Lennox was ere long killed, during the aſſault of Stirling. The Earl of Mar was ſoon elected to that dangerous ſtation, in the place of Lennox. Buchanan, we are told by Crawfurd, was as great a favourite of Mar, as he had been of Murray. When Mar died, in October 1572, the Earl of Morton was elected his ſucceſſor, who was the fourth regent, that in the ſhort period of five years had now held that precarious office. A civil war raged, for many months, with the peculiar rancour of the Scottiſh feuds. Men's minds had been already corrupted by the violences of the Reformation.

in 1571; and, again, at St. Andrew's, in 1572, 12mo: whence we may infer, that it was propagated with great diligence, by thoſe, who hoped to profit from its influence.

And,

And, conſpicuous characters, who had ſacrificed their morals on the altar of innovation, had an eaſy ſtep from Mary to her ſon, from regent to regent, from the conſiſtency of principle to the tergiverſations of vice.

In the foremoſt rank of devious ſtateſmen, muſt be placed, with unrivalled pre-eminence, Maitland of Lethington. It was this extraordinary genius, who, having been ſecretary of ſtate to the unhappy Queen, continually betrayed her to Elizabeth; who ſecretly promoted the rebellion againſt his ſovereign, in 1565; and who proceeded to the ſummit of wickedneſs, in forging his miſtreſs's hand-writing, for the odious purpoſe of convicting her of the crime of aggravated murder. It was he, who acted as an underhand agent with Buchanan, for impoſing on the Engliſh commiſſioners, at York. It was he, who offered himſelf, at that diſgraceful moment, to ſwear with Buchanan to the genuineneſs of his own fabrications. But, after the deceaſe of Murray, he attempted to bind up the bleeding wounds of his country. The moment, however, that he began to act honeſtly, Buchanan fell upon him. The ſatiriſt expoſed the ſhifts of the ſtateſman in *The Chamælion*, which he wrote, during the ſummer of 1570, and ſoon ſent to Cecil, among whoſe papers, it was afterwards found. This ſatire, though compoſed in proſe, is written with all the ingenuity of poetry; yet

yet is it embittered by its invective, and degraded by its coarſeneſs. (*d*)

An attempt was mean time made, during the autumn of 1570, to ſtop the effuſion of kindred blood, by a treaty, which Elizabeth was to manage, for her own intereſt, with her accuſtomed artifice. She ſummoned all parties to appear before her at London. Morton, Dumfermling, and Macgill, came to the court at Greenwich, on the 9th of February 1570-71, on behalf of the infant King. They gave in a paper, ſays Cecil, to prove the lawfulneſs of dethroning Queen Mary (*e*) The act of dethronement gratified Elizabeth; but the juſtification of it diſpleaſed her. In the moment of diſcontent, ſhe might have told them, in her own imperious tone; "It is true, gentlemen, that every nation, when acting by its conſtitutional authorities, may exert a valid power over all perſons, and all things, within its juriſdiction. But, it is not every leader of a mob; it is not every body of diſſidents, whatever their pretences may be; it is not every faction of nobles, whatever may be their motives, who can rightfully overturn the conſtitution, or over-awe the magiſtrate." The treaty ended in diſappointment; becauſe it had been

(*d*) It ſeems not to have been printed in that age.

(*e*) Cecil's Diary, which is annexed to Murden's papers.

begun

begun without ſincerity, and was conducted without fairneſs, to any national purpoſe.

The flame of civil war broke out anew; when freſh fuel was thrown on it, by diſappointed hopes, by factious reſentments, and by ſeditious writings. Dunbarton Caſtle, which had hitherto continued in the charge of Mary's governor, was ſurprized by the dexterity of Captain Crawfurd, in March 1571. In it, was taken, among other perſons of great conſideration, Hamilton, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who had ſought ſhelter in this inſulated fortreſs, ſoon after the battle of Langſide. He was immediately carried to Stirling; where he was tried for imputed crimes, which could not be proved, and condemned under an act of attainder, that had been paſſed at one of the irregular conventions, during thoſe tumultuous days. On the firſt of April 1571, he was hanged as a common malefactor; (*f*) to gratify at once the perſonal hatred of the regent Lennox, and the religious prejudices of a bigotted populace.

Buchanan indulged the dark paſſions of his ſoul, by writing the Archbiſhop's epitaph. (*g*) "The poet begins, by informing us," ſays the late writer of his Memoirs, (*h*) "that our parent

(*f*) Spotſwood, p. 252.

(*g*) Rud. Buch. vol. 2. p. 86.

(*h*) Lord Gardenſtone's Miſcellanies, p. 267.

" rent Earth now breathes lighter ſince delivered " from the burden of ſuch an abominable mon- " ſter; that all the angels of darkneſs have been " fatigued in preparing for his reception; and " that every other department of perdition now " ſtands ſtill; the whole tortures of Tartarus be- " ing devoted to a ſingle victim. After pauſing " with complacency on this charitable proſpect, " he concludes, by profeſſing his regret, that the " Primate's carcaſe had not been caſt to the " dogs."—Such was Buchanan's ſavageneſs; and ſuch is our paraphraſt's malignity! (*i*)

Were proſe entitled to the perſonifications of poetry, we might, with a proſaic pencil, alſo attempt an hiſtorical picture.—Thus, we behold the poet, and his paraphraſt, collecting the dogs from the ſhambles of Stirling: they hound them upon the Archbiſhop's corpſe. The limbs of a perſon of the higheſt rank, who had been murdered under the form of law, are torn in pieces. The dogs gorge themſelves with the blood of the Primate, who had fallen a ſacrifice to religious bigotry. The poet and his paraphraſt enjoy the ſight: they partake of the prey. With the brutal ferocity of French Democrats, they fix their

(*i*) The late Lord Hailes remarks, in his Catalogue of the Lords of Seſſion, notes, p. 4. " The tragical fate of " Archbiſhop Hamilton, in 1571, is well-known. Buchanan, " in ſeveral ſatirical epigrams, ſpeaks of the manner of his " death with the moſt illiberal, and ſavage, exultation."

fangs

fangs in the Archbiſhop's heart: they tear out the Primate's bowels: and, ſtained with gore, and gaſping with fury, they run through the ſtreets of Stirling; inciting the populace, with frantic cries, to make new ſacrifices, and to praiſe God for the paſt!

But, neither the inveteracy of the regent, nor the brutality of the poet, put an end to civil diſcord, though the inſult offered to the Primate may have gratified both. The parliament, which Lennox aſſembled, during May 1571, in the Cannongate of Edinburgh, ſat only four days; becauſe the cannon of the caſtle played upon the convention. In this ſhort period, however, this meeting of partizans paſſed various acts of attainder, (*k*) which only embittered perſonal animoſity. Among other perſons of inferior conſequence, Maitland of Lethington, and his brother John, the prior of Coldingham, who was the keeper of the privy-ſeal, were attainted. This office had been long enjoyed by that accompliſhed family. Sir Richard Maitland, the father of Lethington, who is now better known as a poet, and a collector of poetry, had been appointed for life, on the 20th of December 1562. This aged ſtateſman reſigned the privy-ſeal to his ſon John, who was alſo appointed the keeper for life, on the 26th of Auguſt 1567. The attainder of the

(*k*) Spotſwood, p. 253.

prior

prior of Coldingham, and the favour of the regent, transferred the privy-ſeal to the cuſtody of Buchanan, in May 1571, (*l*) who was at length rewarded for his ſteady attachment to party, and for his recent ſervices to Lennox.

When Buchanan was thus appointed the keeper of the privy-ſeal, which gave him a participation in the government, and an addition to his income, he had paſſed his grand climacteric, and was advancing faſt to ſixty-ſix. Yet, he continued his correſpondence with the ſcholars of the age; with Rogerſon and Daniel, with Beza and Tycho Brahe. And, he partook of the ſhocks, both perſonal and political, which the quick ſucceſſion of regents gave to his diſtracted country; by the death of Lennox, in 1571, and the appointment of Mar, his ſucceſſor; by the death of Mar, and the elevation of Morton to the regency, in November 1572. But the leiſure, which his various avocations allowed, and the repoſe, that the gout permitted, was employed on *The Hiſtory of Scotland*, which, having been long expected, was wiſhfully looked for by thoſe,

(*l*) Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 142. I, however, have a MS. note of George Crawfurd, which ſays, that Buchanan was appointed to the office of keeper of the privy-ſeal, on the 19th of October 1570. The moſt diligent ſearch could not find the appointment of Buchanan to that high office among the records. He may have poſſibly been appointed, during thoſe irregular times, even before the attainder of Maitland.

who,

who, having urged the undertaking, expected renown from his performance.

He was employed, at the ſame time, in other labours. The aſſembly, which met, in Auguſt 1574, "willed their *loved brethren*, George Buchanan, Peter Young, Andrew Melvin, and James Lawſon, to peruſe *the Hiſtory of Job*, which had been compiled in Latin verſe by Patrick Adamſon; and to authorize it by their ſignatures, if they ſhould find it agreeable to the truth of ſcripture." The ſilence of the *Typographical Annals*, on this ſubject, would ſeem to evince, that Buchanan and his *loved brethren* did not authorize *Adamſon's Poetical Hiſtory of Job*. (*m*)

Mean time, the malverſations of Morton's government rouſed the public indignation. Whether his rapacity, or his miſrule, offended Buchanan, cannot now be known, though theſe queſtions have been much debated by thoſe, who wiſhed rather to confound, than inform. It is certain, that the influence of Buchanan contributed to the regent's fall, and to the King's elevation, while he was yet an infant, on the 12th of March

(*m*) The whole works of Adamſon were printed at London, by John Bill, 1619, 4to.—Lauder publiſhed, in 1739, among the *Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ*, vol. 2. p. 205, *Paraphraſis Jobi* Poetica: Auctore Patricio Adamſono, Sancti Andreæ, in Scotia, Archiepiſcopo. Editio altera.

1577-78. (*n*) Buchanan haſtened to derive an advantage from this revolution, in the caſtle of Stirling, and from that influence of his ſtation. On the 30th of April 1578, (*o*) he reſigned the privy-ſeal to his nephew Thomas Buchanan, the eldeſt ſon of Alexander Buchanan of Ibbert, who was appointed for life, in his uncle's room, during that moment of perturbation, and anarchy. Yet, was George Buchanan vulgarly conſidered, as the keeper of the privy-ſeal, during ſeveral months, after it had thus been transferred to Thomas Buchanan, the object of his choice, who died in November 1582. (*p*)

Morton,

(*n*) Crawfurd's Mem. p. 330; Moyſe's Mem. p. x.

(*o*) Privy Seal Records of that date.

(*p*) The Scotch Diſpatches, in the Paper Office, often mention him as keeper of the Privy-Seal, during the ſummer of 1578. I was induced by thoſe papers to doubt the truth of the date of Buchanan's reſignation, till I was aſſured by the accurate Mr. W. Robertſon of the Regiſter Houſe, that the laſt day of April 1578 was certainly the true date. I afterwards ſaw in the Cotton Library, Calig. c. 3. fol. 530, A Confirmation of the Infeſtment to Robert Earl of Lenox, dated the 17th of June 1578, which was ſigned, among others, by Alexander Hay, the Director of the Chancery, and by *Thomas* Buchanan, the keeper of the privy-ſeal.—This record proves, that *George* Buchanan was neither the keeper of the privy-ſeal, nor the *Director of the Chancery*, on the 17th of June 1578. I have convinced myſelf, notwithſtanding what is ſaid by Scot in *The ſtaggering State of Scots Statesmen* p. 120-160, and repeated by the biographers, *That Buchanan never*

Morton, however, regained, by his artifice, poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Stirling, and with it the control of the King's perſon, on the 24th of May 1578: and, he was ſoon after reinſtated in the government by Queen Elizabeth's influence. So odious was he, that he carried the vote of parliament, in July 1578, *Whether he ſhould be of the King's council*, by a very ſmall majority. Here is the ſtate of the votes, which is very curious:

	For him.	Ag^{t} him.
Biſhops - - -	4	4
Earls - - -	4	4
Abbots - - -	6	2
Lords - - -	5	7
Burghs - - -	4	5
George Buchanan, Privy Seal -	0	1
The Comptroller - -	1	0
The Maſter of Forbes -	1	0
	25	23

Mr.

never was the Director of the Chancery: for it appears from the records, that Alexander Livingſton of Dunipace was appointed the Director of the Chancery *for life*, on the 26th of January 1548-9; and that there was no other appointment till the 15th of September 1567; when that office was granted to Alexander Hay; who reſigned it to Robert Scot,

Mr. George Buchanan, who was ſtill ſaid to be the Privy Seal, though he had certainly reſigned the office, voted for the ſending of the Abbot of Dumfermling as ambaſſador to Queen Elizabeth, in June 1578. He was, in the ſubſequent month, enumerated as one of the King's ordinary council, being *Privy Seal*. Buchanan was, at the ſame time, conſidered, as one of thoſe Scottiſh counſellors, who were *well affected* to England. There were tranſmitted from Scotland, to Burleigh, in July 1578, two liſts, one of the *Biencontents*, at this preſent; and one of the *Malcontents*; and among the *Malcontents*, was "Mr. George Buchanan, *in reſpecte of the Erle "Morton's comynge againe into the King's favour.*" Being no longer the keeper of the privy ſeal, and being thus a *Malcontent*, Buchanan ceaſed to have a vote in the government of his country, towards the end of 1578, though he ſtill continued

ſome time between the 17th of June 1578, and March following, when Scot appears to have been clerk regiſter. And Robert Scot reſigned the office to his ſon Robert, on the 5th of March 1586–7. Buchanan returned to Scotland, in 1561. He was made penſioner of Corſragwell, in 1564. He was appointed to be the principal of St. Leonard's College in 1566. And, he had the privy-ſeal delivered to him in 1570, or 1571. From the foregoing evidence it plainly appears, that he never could have been *the Director of the Chancery*, for which there is no authority but the looſe aſſertion of Scot, a very looſe writer.

to

to act as tutor to the King, and as a reformer of the ſtate. (*q*)

The parliament of July 1578, with a view to both thoſe characters, appointed Buchanan, with other men of learning and rank, to reform the ſeminary, from which he had derived the firſt of his literary honours. This parliament, with no deep inſight into the nature, or the end of educatioun, paſſed an act (*r*) "Anent the viſitation of "univerſities;" which, ſaid our reforming legiſlators, were then—"Sa fer alter it from the firſt inſti-"tution, the maiſt pairt of the verie foundatiouns "ſa fer diſagreeing with the trew religioun and "ſa fer different from that perfectioun of teaching "which this learnit age cravis." During the heat of innovation, reformers ſeldom reflect, that their inconſiderate attempts generally infringe original truſts.

Yet, under that authority, the Earl of Lennox, Robert the Commendator of Dumfermling, *George Buchanan*, James Haliburton, and Peter Young, met at Edinburgh, in November 1579, and reformed the Univerſity of St. Andrew's; ſo as "to "be mair proffittable in tyme coming to the glory "of God, honour of his majeſtie, profit of this

(*q*) I found the curious particulars, which are mentioned in this paragraph, among the Scotch diſpatches in the paper-office.

(*r*) Parliament 1578, No. 4. of the unprinted acts.

" common wealth, and guid upbringing of the " youthe in ſciences neidful for continewing of " the trew religioun to all poſteritie." The act of this reform, which was plainly the work of Buchanan, will convince the reader, that his mind was chiefly occupied about what he deemed *the trew religioun*; that he thought little about law, which ſecures rights; and leſs about ſcience, that enlightens mankind. More ſober legiſlators, by repealing, in 1621, this haſty act of innovation, re-eſtabliſhed the univerſity of St. Andrew's, on the high ground of its original foundation. (*s*)

The influence of Queen Elizabeth, and Morton, appeared to be ſo inefficient, in the parliament, 1578, that ſhe ſeems to have reſolved to ſacrifice her love of money to her love of power. And, ſhe finally determined to buy all, who, in Scotland, were deemed worthy of a bribe. In March 1579, Burleigh obtained, with this deſign, accurate liſts of the propereſt objects. He had an account "Of perſons, who were commend- " ed by the Earl of Morton, when he was re- " gent, as moſt meet to be entertained;" and— " Of perſons, who were alſo fit to have enter- " tainment, though they were not recommended " by the regent." In a third liſt—" Of per- " ſons, who were not commended by the regent, " yet, by others thought meet to be entertain-

(*s*) See the APPENDIX, No. I.

ed,"

ed,"—were Mr. *George Buchanan*, the King's tutor, *a ſingular man*; and *Peter Young*, "another "tutor to the King, ſpecially well affected, and "ready to perſuade the King to be in favor of "her majeſtye." After minute inveſtigation, was at length ſettled a liſt of penſioners, who were to influence the youthful King, and to rule a devoted country, as Elizabeth ſhould direct. In this liſt, Buchanan had a conſpicuous place, and a large allowance. (*t*)

Buchanan

(*t*) For all thoſe particulars, ſee the Cotton Library, Calig. c. 5. fol. 109—11, which contains alſo,—"The names of "ſuch, as are to be entertained, in Scotland, by penſions, "out of England:"—

The Regent, E. Morton	£. 500
The E. of Angus	100
The E. of Athol	200
The E. of Argyle	200
The E. of Montroſe	100
The E. of Rothes	100
The E. of Glencairn	100
The Counteſs of Marre	200
The Maſter of Erſkine	150
The E. of Glamis	100
The Lord Ruthin	100
The L. Lindſay	100
The L. Boyd	100
The L. Herries	100
The L. Maxwell	100
The Laird of Lochleven	50
The L. Bolderkel	50
The L. of Drumwhaſel	100
The L. of Ormiſton	50

Buchanan was at length to act under the threefold character of *malcontent*, *reformer*, and *penſioner*. While thus acting under the influence of the ardent paſſions, which each of thoſe characters powerfully inſpire, Buchanan publiſhed, in January 1579-80, his well-known tract *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which had been matured probably by the conſideration of many years. (*u*)

James Macgill - - - -	100
Buchanan - - -	100
Nic. Elviiton - - - -	50
Peter Younge, ſcholemaſter - -	30
Alex[r] Hay - - - -	40

(*u*) It was originally printed, at Edinburgh, by John Roſs, for Henry Charteris. There was a ſecond edition of it, in 1580, and a third, in 1581. [Herb. Printers, vol. 3. 1500.] On the 15th of March 1579-80, Randolph wrote from London to Buchanan, who then reſided at Stirling,—"that he "had received his *De Jure*, which had lately come into the "world;" but, he at the ſame time, regretted *the delay* of *his Hiſtory*. [See the epiſtle in Rud. Buchanan.]—"Calderwood "ſays, *that Buchanan had written it juſt after the Earl of* "*Murray's firſt parliament*, in 1567, though he did not pub-"liſh it till the year 1579." [Crawfurd's MS. Note.] Ruddiman has been often inſulted for ſpeaking a ſimilar language. Yet, from a conſideration of all circumſtances, and the authorities, I think it moſt probable, that Buchanan wrote the *De Jure*, at the time, which is mentioned by Calderwood, in order to juſtify the dethronement of Queen Mary, though, owing to cauſes that cannot now be known, he retained it in his hands, till the moment of his diſcontent, in 1579. Crawfurd was ſo abſurd as to ſay, *that Buchanan laid it as a ſcheme of politics before his royal pupil!* [MS. Extracts.]

It

It was ſoon anſwered by Blackwood, and Barclay, and by others, who ſeem to have as little conſidered the nature of ſociety, as Buchanan appears to have ſtudied the laws of his country, which he profeſſed to illuſtrate. The *De Jure*, however, has often been reprinted, during contentious times, by thoſe, who, expecting to gain ſome advantage from the confuſions of tumult, naturally hoped, that the licentiouſneſs of its theory would promote the purpoſes of their intereſt. In this manner, the ſucceſſive practice of ages ſeems to evince, that the *De Jure* of Buchanan has, in every period, been deemed rather favourable to faction, than conducive to liberty. Like other treatiſes, which have been ſince written on its model, the *De Jure* ſuppoſes, that the laws of Scotland did not exiſt, though it pretends to teach the maxims of the Scottiſh government. Buchanan deſignedly overlooked all theſe; becauſe his extenſive erudition had enabled him to contemplate the Grecian republics, which, appearing to a prejudiced mind, as models of perfection, he naturally inferred, that every municipal ſyſtem actually was, what his predilection wiſhed to be the conſtitution of his country. Buchanan has thus drawn upon himſelf the praiſes and reproaches of two very different claſſes of men. He has been celebrated as *the herald of whiggery* by thoſe, in whom deſire ſeconded prepoſſeſſion; he has been condemned as the *herald*

of

of anarchy, by others, whoſe apprehenſions ſaw the fundamentals of ſociety undermined, by the ſeditiouſneſs of his principles.

It muſt be, however, allowed, that Buchanan contrived his work, with great addreſs, for the ſtate of Scotland, and the practices of the factions, among which he lived. From the epoch of the Reformation, to the æra of the acceſſion of James VI. to the throne of England, Scotland exhibited the diſtorted picture of a King, without influence, of an ariſtocracy, without reſtraint, of a people, without protection, and of a clergy, without that juſt ſubordination to the *higher powers*, which the great Founder of their faith had taught, by the perſuaſive example of his meritorious actions. It was in this period of anarchy, that Buchanan publiſhed his *De Jure*, whatever were his purpoſe, of doing good to his country, or miſchief to the world.

Of that anarchy, Buchanan lived to ſee the conſequences. Almoſt all thoſe, with whom he had acted for twenty years, he ſaw periſh by violence. He beheld Morton, the object of his hatred, loſe his head on the ſcaffold, for his crimes. While he was in the act of dedicating his hiſtory to his pupil, in Auguſt 1582, he heard, that the hand of treaſon had been raiſed againſt the King, by Gowrie, and other conſpirators, at the *raid* of Ruthven.

We may eaſily ſuppoſe, that the anxiety, which

Randolph expreſſed for the publication of *the Hiſtory*, haſtened Buchanan's tardy ſteps, amidſt the tumults of anarchy, and the preſſures of age. On this long-expected work, he doubtleſs laboured diligently, during the years 1580, and 1581, in order to repair the loſs of time, and the loſs of *his copy*. Though he had probably contributed by his lucubrations to the violence of the ruling powers; yet the violence of the ruling powers certainly did not diſturb his lucubrations. Yet, Crawfurd is ſo abſurd as to aſſert, in the face of impoſſibility, "That Buchanan was not permitted "to enjoy the quiet he had promiſed to him-"ſelf, in the decline of his age; but, *was ſum-"moned before the privy council, while he was on "his death bed*;" (*x*) to anſwer for—*the Hiſtory*, which was ſtill in the preſs. Poor Crawfurd did not perceive, with his feeble eyes, that he aſſerted what an *alibi* diſproved: for, there was not a privy council at Edinburgh, where Buchanan then reſided, during many months, before Buchanan's deceaſe. (*y*)

The Hiſtory of Buchanan, which had been anxiouſly looked for, was, after various delays from ſeveral cauſes, delivered from the preſs of Arbuthnot to the learned world, in September

(*x*) MS. Extracts.

(*y*) See Moyſe's Mem. 61-6.—Dr. W. Robertſon's Hiſtory, vol. 2. p. 95.

1582.

1582. Much was doubtleſs expected from it by contemporaries, whatever may be thought of it by poſterity. Burleigh and Randolph, Murray and Macgill, and the other wiſe men of the times, were ſo ſilly as to hope, that ſucceſſive generations would regard its ſophiſms, as maxims, and its aſſertions, as facts. Little did they foreſee, that a race of men would ariſe, who would diſtinguiſh between Buchanan's aſſumptions and his proofs; who would detect the falſehood of the writer, and would even expoſe the artifice of his patrons.

The eſtates of Scotland acted with as little foreſight, when, in May 1584, they condemned (z) Buchanan's "Buikes of the Chronicle, and "the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, as not meet to "remain for records of truth to poſterity." Neither the ſtateſmen who applauded, nor the legiſlators, who condemned, the works of Buchanan, reflected, that verity alone can ſtand the detection of time.

Buchanan did not live long enough to hear the verdict of the world, which he early foreſaw would be unfavourable; "that his hiſtory would "content few, and diſpleaſe many." (a) He

(z) Glendook's Acts, 8 parliament, James VI. No. 134. —"*Georgius Buchananus, Scotus*," appears too, in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, [p. 73] which was printed, at Venice, in 1596.

(a) Buchanan's Letter to Randolph, in 1577, Rud. preface to Buch. works, p. xix.

died

died at Edinburgh, on Saturday, the 28th of September 1582, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, without any diſturbance from the government, without any diſavowal of his writings, without any converſation with King James. He was buried in the cemetery of the Grey-friars, in that city. But, his grave, ſays the late writer of his Memoirs, *has never been diſtinguiſhed by a tomb-ſtone.* (*b*)

Yet, is this poſitive aſſertion, of confident ignorance, contradicted by the following record: (*c*)— "At Edinburgh, the 3d day of December 1701; "the ſame day the council being informed, "that the through ſtone [tomb-ſtone] of the "deceaſt George Buchanan lyes ſunk under the "ground of the Grey-friars: therefore, they "appoint the chamberlain to raiſe the ſame, and "clear the inſcription thereupon; ſo as the ſame "may be legible." The inſcription, which was thus reſtored to the eye of the paſſenger, by the piety of Edinburgh, was written by John Adamſone. (*d*) From thoſe facts, we may learn, what an eaſy taſk it is to write memoirs, without re-

(*b*) Lord Gardenſtone's Miſcellanies, p. 252.

(*c*) The City of Edinburgh's Council Book, 3d December, 1701.

(*d*) It may be ſeen in Sibbald's Commentary, which was publiſhed, in 1702, p. 61, and in James Man's edition of Buchanan's Hiſtory, 1762.

ſearch;

ſearch; to praiſe, without knowledge; and to cenſure, without proof.

Several editions of Buchanan's *Hiſtory* were printed abroad, without any republication at home, during the effluxion of many years. While it was deemed unſafe to publiſh the original, in Britain, a tranſlation of it would hardly be printed, in this iſland. It was tranſlated, during his own age, into *the Scottiſh tongue*, by *John Read, Eſquyar*, who ſeems to have been Buchanan's *ſervitur and writer*. Yet, this tranſlation remains ſtill unpubliſhed. (*e*) And, it was amidſt the confuſions, which ſucceeded the death of Cromwell, that ſuch a hiſtory was thought ſuitable to the faſhion of the times, in an Engliſh dreſs. On the 10th of March 1658-9, there was entered, on the regiſter of the ſtationers company, *The Hiſtory of Scotland, tranſlated from the Latin of Buchanan, a Scott.* This tranſlation had not, however, been publiſhed, at the epoch of the Reſtoration. It was ſtill in the preſs, during June 1660. And, the government, being alarmed at the ſound, effectually ſuppreſſed the publication (*f*) of what was then deemed *pernicious to monarchy*,

(*e*) In the library of the college of Glaſgow; and ſee Nicolſon's Hiſt. Lib. edit. 1776. p. 34:—and Mr. Whitaker's *Vindication*, vol. 2. p. 353.

(*f*) The following tranſcript from the books of privy council will probably be deemed curious, by ſome, and ridiculous, by others.—" His majeſty, having received information

monarchy, but has ſince dropt into oblivion, as unworthy of notice. Whether the copy was deſtroyed, or preſerved, cannot now be known. But, certain it is, that a ſimilar writing was publiſhed, in 1690, at a more propitious æra. (*b*) And, of this tranſlation, a ſecond edition, in a more

mation this day in council, [7th June 1660] that, Mr. Kirkton, dwelling at the ſign of his majeſty's arms, a bookſeller, is now printing, in the Engliſh tounge, George Buchannan's Hiſtory of Scotland and *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, which are very pernicious to monarchy, and injurious to his majeſty's bleſſed progenitors: his majeſty hath thereupon ordered by the advice of the council, and doth hereby require, that the warden, or maſter, of the company of ſtationers do forthwith make diligent ſearch for and ſeize upon both the original and all the impreſſions made thereof, and deliver them to one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate. And it is further ordered by his majeſty, that the ſaid warden, or maſter, and the ſaid Kirkton, do make their perſonal appearance, at this board, on Wedneſday next the 13th inſtant, to receive his majeſty's further pleaſure, and thereof not to fayle at their perils."

(*b*) The adverſaries of Ruddiman reproached him with having *nicked the time*, in publiſhing his edition of *Buchanan's Works*, in 1715. The time was very well *nicked* by publiſhing the *tranſlation* of *his Hiſtory*, in 1690: and, the time was ſtill better *nicked*, by publiſhing, in 1689, Buchanan's *Detection of the Actions of Mary Queen of Scots*. To this *well-timed* edition of the *Detection*, there is a preface, which is ridiculouſly ignorant. The prefacer ſays, That James 5th, the father of Mary, was ſlain at Floddenfield, [the 9th September 1513;] that Mary was then a child only four days old; that at five years of age ſhe was ſent to France; that being left a widow, ſhe returned to Scotland, where ſhe found her mother *welteringing in her cruelties*. In this ſtrain he runs on to the end, like greater

more commodious ſize, was given to the Engliſh people, by William Bond, in 1722, which was ſaid to be corrected; and of which, Ruddiman remarks, "that he has not made the leaſt "alteration, [from the folio of 1690] though it "abounds with many errors." (*i*)

Such were the *life* and *labours* of Buchanan, which occupied ſo much of the *life* and *labours* of Ruddiman! The elaborate *Vindication* of Buchanan, by Ruddiman, has precluded the neceſſity of *certificates* from the learned, in favour of Buchanan's genius, erudition, and poetry. What is acknowledged by an enemy requires no proof from a friend. And, when Ruddiman publiſhed the *whole works* of Buchanan, he placed his genius, his erudition, and his poetry, in the moſt advantageous light, though the injudiciouſneſs of his admirers has thrown obſcurity on the name, which they wiſhed to illumine, by their celebrations.

It was, at the ſame time, the opinion of Ruddiman, that the poſſeſſion of talents ought never

greater writers of later times; reproaching Mary, and injuring himſelf:—

——— the worſt of chance
Is, to crave grace for heedleſs ignorance.

(*i*) Anſwer to Logan, p. 315. The firſt tranſlation was in folio; the ſecond in 8vo. and both were publiſhed in London. An edition has been ſince printed, at Edinburgh, in numbers, during the year 1751; and, in the ſame period was publiſhed the *De Jure*, at Glaſgow. [Scots Mag. 1751, p. 264—312—600.]

to

to be admitted as an apology for the want of morals. The glitter of Buchanan's literary accompliſhments did not prevent Ruddiman from ſeeing, that his *moral* character was debaſed by many faults. The moderation of Ruddiman induced him, when he edited his works, to conſider Buchanan as a perſon, who, in ſome of his principles, and many of his practices, was more erroneous than malignant. It was the ſtrong motive of ſelf-defence, which, after the perſecution of thirty years, induced Ruddiman to exhibit the perſonal conduct of Buchanan, as ſtained with the foul reproach of ingratitude. It was the recent attack on the good name of Ruddiman, by the writer of the Memoirs of Buchanan, which demanded the foregoing narrative of his life, in order to ſhow, that in Buchanan's portrait, Ruddiman had neither been miſtaken in the drawing, nor malicious in the colouring.

If we were to inſtitute a compariſon between Buchanan and Ruddiman, as to their *moral* characters, an accurate eſtimate would produce a remarkable diverſity. Enough has been already ſtated to prove, that the reputation of Buchanan has equally to apprehend the tattle of an injudicious friend, as the reſearches of an unpropitious adverſary. Like other virtuous men, Ruddiman may be injured in his name by the follies of a friend, but, ſuch was his life! that his worth has

nothing to fear from the ſcrutinies of an enemy. It is the peculiar privilege of truth, and the comfortable reflection of innocence, that they need dread, neither the inquiries of the preſent, nor the detections of the future.—

Truth laughs at death,
And terrifies the killer more than kill'd.
Integrity, thus armleſs, ſeeks his foes,
And never needs a target, or a ſword,
Bow, or envenom'd ſhafts.

THE APPENDIX.

THE APPENDIX, No. I.

Ratificatioun of the Reformatioun of the Univerſitie of St. Androis. [*From the Records of the Parliament of Scotland, the 11th of November* 1579. See before, p. 8, and 352.]

FORSAMEKLE as oure Souerane lord and his thrie Eſtatis in his laſt parliament (*a*) Conſidering that the Univerſities of this realme appointit for Educatioun of the Zowth q^lk^. ſould be the ſeid and uphald of the common welth and Kirk of God being weil foundat alſwelll in rentis as proviſioun of maiſtaris teachearis and Burſaris wer notw^th^ſtanding miſuſed be particuler perſonis to yair awin advantage w^th^out reſpect to the diligent upbringing of the Zowth in vertew and guide Leſs litill regarding the common welth of this realme and poſteritie to cum And that the forme of teaching wes for the maiſt pairt unprofitable q^r^by the Zowth tynt yair tyme and pa-

(*a*) 25 July 1578.

rentis fruſtrat of thair expectatioun Thairfoir his Henes with adviſe of his ſaidis eſtaitis gaif grantit and commitit full power and commiſſioun to certaine noble reuerend worſhipfull and diſcrete perſonis expreſit in the act of parliament (*b*) maid thairanent To viſite and conſider the foundatiouns and erectiouns of the Univerſities and collegis w^t^in this realme To reforme ſic thingis as ſoundit to ſuperſtitioun ydolatrie and papiſtrie To diſplace unqualified and unmeit perſonis to diſcharge yair offices in the ſaidis Univerſities To plant ſic qualifyt and worthie perſonis thairintill as they ſuld fynd gude and ſufficient for education of the Zouth—Quhilkis perſonis ſae appointit failing to convene at the firſt diett nathing wes performit till of lait That the mater being rememberit be direction from the generale aſſemblie of the miniſtrie ſpeciallie thinking the Univerſity of Sanct Androis meit to be reformit His Henes w^t^ aviſe of the Lordis of his ſecrete Counſall Ordanit and commandit the maiſteris of the ſaid Univerſitie to be at Edinburgh at ane certane day w^t^ the foundatiouns of their collegis to be ſein and conſiderit be ony ſix five or foure of ſic noble reverend and circumſpect perſonis as his Majeſtie w^t^ aviſe of his ſaid Counſale had choſine committing to them full power to viſite and conſider the ſaidis foundatiouns to re-

(*b*) No. 4, unprinted.

move

move all ſuperſtitiouns and papiſtrie To diſplace unqualified perſonis and plant worthie and qualified in thair roumes To redres the forme of ſtudyis and teaching be ma or fewar profeſſouris To joyne or divide the faculteis To annex every facultie to ſic College as ſal be found maiſt proper And generallie to eſtabliſh ſic order in that Univerſitie as ſal maiſt tend to the glory of God profeit of the common welth and guide upbringing of the zowith in ſciences neidfull for contenewing of the trew religeoun to all poſterities Likeas the act of ſecrete Counſalle thairupoun at mair lenth proportis—And they convening at Edinburgh and haveing ſene and conſiderit the foundatioun and erectiouns of the ſaid Univerſitie of Sanct Androis hes found the preſent eſtate in all the Colleges thairof ſa fer alterit from the firſt enſtitutioun The maiſt pairt of the verie foundatiouns ſa fer diſaggreing w^t^ the trew religioun And ſa fer different from that perfectioun of teaching q^lk^ this learnit age cravis And they neidfull directiouns q^lk^^s^ the auld foundatiouns appointis being in mony thingis omittit and neglectit Hes thairfoir with common conſent diviſit and drawin ane mair proffitable and perfite order to be obſervit in the ſaid Univerſitie in tyme coming As the ſame ſubſcryvit w^t^ the handis of the ſaidis Commiſſioneris at mair lenth beires Quhik his Hienes w^t^ aviſe of his three eſtaitis ordainis to be heir inſert And of the ſame the

tennoure followis—To the richt excellent richt heich and michty Prince James the ſext be the grace of God King of Scottis, our ſoueraine Lord zoure Majeſties daylie orato^{rs} and maiſt humble ſubjectis zo^{r} Hienes Commiſſioneris for reformatioun of the Univerſitie of Sanct-Androis under ſubſcryvand ſpeciallie conſtitut Having at command and directioun of zo^{r} Majeſtie ſene and conſiderit the foundatiouns and erectiouns of the ſaid Univerſitie and bene crediblie informit of the preſent conditioun thairof w^{t} the ordo^{r} of exerciſe obſervit thairin thir ſundrie zeirs bigane And findand the eſtate of all the colleges at this preſent tyme ſa fer alterit from the firſt inſtitutioun the maiſt pairt of the verie foundations ſa fer diſaggreing w^{t} the trew religioun and ſa fer different from that perfectioun of teaching q^{l}k this learnit age cravis And they neidful directiouns q^{l}k the auld foundatiouns appointis being in mony things omitted and neglectit We have thairfoir w^{t} common conſent diviſit and drawin the forme and order following As mair proffitable to bé obſervit in the ſaid Univerſitie in tyme coming to the glory of God honno^{r} of zo^{r} majeſtie profit of this common welth and guid upbringing of the zowth in ſeiences neidfull for continewing of the trew religioun to all poſteritie—Firſt We Ordane the New College for the ſtudie of Theologie allenarlie In the q^{l}k five maiſteris daylie teachin ſal in fo^{r} yeris com-

pleit the haill courſe of the New and Auld Teſtament and the common places in this ordo^{r} viz^{t} The firſt lecto^{r} in the firſt ſex moneths ſal teiche the preceptis of the Ebrew grammer and practize yairof in Davidis Salamon Job In the uther ſex moneths the preceptis of Caldaicque Syraicque and uſe of the ſamin in Daniell Eſdra the paraphraſis and Syraicque New Teſtament The ſecond lectoure in the ſecund yeir and ane half ſall interpret out of the Ebrew and ſenſiblie oppin up the law of Moſes and the hiſtorie of the Auld Teſtament conferring w^{t} the pharaphraſis Septuagintis and uther learnit verſionis q^{r} neid beis The third lecto^{r} in the laſt żeir and ane half ſall w^{t} the like diligence expone the prophettis greit and ſmall The fourt lecto^{r} ſall teiche the New Teſtament out of the Greek toung during the haill cours conferring w^{t} the Syriaque The fyft lecto^{r} ſall reid the common places during the haill cours ſwa that the ſtudentis of Theologie heiring daylie thrie Leſſonis the ſpace of four zeirs ſal w^{t} meane diligence becume perfite theologians To this end ther ſal be daylie repetitiouns anys in the oulk publict diſputatiouns everie moneth Declamatiouns thrie ſolemne examinatiouns in the cours The firſt in the end of the firſt zeir in the tongis And ſa far as they have heard of the common places and New Teſtament The ſecund examinatioun efter the ſecund zeir and ane halfe in the law hiſtorie and ſamekle as ſal be red of the common-

places and New Teſtament and the therd examina-
tioun in the end of the cours in all the toungis
the haill Bible and common places Thir thrie
ſolemne examinatiouns ſal begyne the tent day of
September q'in everie learnt man ſal be frie to
diſpute And becaus thair is greit varietie at this
preſent of men learnit in the knawledge of the
tongues and uther thingis neidfull for ſic pro-
feſſor' we have thairfoir electit certane of the
maiſt qualyfit perſonis knawin to us as the ſaidis
five maiſtaris for teaching of the cours of theolo-
gie in the order before writtin in the ſaid New
College To begyne howſoune poſſiblie they may
be tranſportit yairto Of the q'lk thrie to enter
this pñt zeir And ordains the perſouns now oc-
cupeing the place of maiſtaris in the ſaid college
to remove yairfra w'hout delay Item quhen it
ſal happene ony of the fyve maiſteris or profeſ-
ſouris to inlaik or that the nowmer ſal not be full
that the electioun of qualifyt perſonis thairfoir
ſal from this furth pertene to the Biſchop of Sanct
Andr̃ the conſeruator of the priveleges of the
ſaid Univerſitie the recto' Deanis of facultie
and remanent maiſteris of theologie or the maiſt
pairt of thame that ſal be preſent in Sanct Andr̃
the day appointit for the electioun ffor quhilk
purpois the recto' or incaſe of his abſence or
negligence the Deane of facultie w'hin ſex dayis
efter the vacanſs of the rowme be diſceſs or
utherwiſs ſall affix ane edict upoun ane moneths

warning That all learnit men may convene furth of all pairtis of the realme of quhom the worthieſt efter dew examinatioun to be preferrit And to the ſame perſonis electors ſall belang the charge of depoſitioun and deprivatioun of ſic as ſall be thocht unworthie aither in doctrine or lyff or not doing thair dewtie faythfullie and diligentlie in that profeſſioun q^r^unto they happyne to be electit. Item We ordane aucht Burſaris in theologie to be receavit teachit and have thair buirdis upoun the rentis of the ſaid New College the ſtipendis and buirdis of the maiſteris heirefter ſpeciallie declarit being firſt allowit Item becaus it is cleirlie undeirſtand that yair hes bene and is greit corruptioun and abuſe in reſſaving of the Burſaris in everie facultie rather upoun favo^r^ and ſolliſtatioun then for vertew or in ſupport of povertie Thairfoir that in reſſaving of burſaris in tyme coming either in theologie or ony uther facultie there be an publict edict affixt be the firſt M^r^ of the college or in caſe of his abſence or negligence be the nixt M^r^ upoun twentie dayis warning of befoir the firſt day of October zeirlie And be diligent examination of the Recto^r^ Deanis of facultie and the M^rs^ of the college q^r^ the burſs happynis to vaik the puireſt to be preferit ceteris paribus gif he ſall be found alſwell learnit and qualifyt w^t^hout prejudice always of the lawit patronis quha notw^t^ſtanding ſal be halden to preſent qualifyt perſonis And that nane ſall bruik

ane

any burſs in ony facultie but for the ſpace of four zeiris and that everie Burſer in theologie foundit or to be foundit in q'ſomever college in the ſaid Univerſitie of Sanct-Andr̄ ſall be bundin to reſort to the leſſonis and exerciſe of the ſaid New College now appointit for theologie and compleit yar cours as ſaid is Item that learning may further incres and qualifyt perſonis only be provydit to eccleſiaſtical offices and charges w'thin this realme We ordáne that efter the ſpace of foure zeirs immediately following the dait heirof nane ſall be admittit to the miniſtrie of the word of God and Sacramentis or ony benefice havand cure of ſawlis except ſic as hes completit yair cours in theologie or be rigorous examinatioun be the facultie ſal be found worthie and qualifyt to reſſave all thair degreis in the ſaid facultie Item that the zowth may atteane unto perfite knawlege of humanitie and trew phyloſophie We ordane that in aither of the uther twa Colleges viz' Sanct Leonardis and Sanct Salvatouris thair ſall be beſyds the principal foure ordiner profeſſouris or regentis everie ane contenewing in his awin profeſſioun The firſt Regent in the firſt zeir of the cours ſall teache the preceptis of the Greek toung and uſe thairof in the beſt and maiſt eaſie autho'ſ w' exerciſes in compoſitioun the firſt ſex moneths in Latine the reſt in Greek The ſecond Regent ſal teiche the preceptis of inventioun diſpoſitioun and elocutioun The ſecund zeir ſhorteſt eaſieſt

eaſieſt and maiſt accurat w^t^ practiſe yairof in the beſt authors of bay^t^ the toungis The third Regent ſall teich the maiſt proffitable and neidfull pairtis of the logickis of Ariſtotle w^t^ the ethikis and politikis all in Greek and the Offices of Cicero in Latine The fourt Regent ſall teiche in Greek ſamekle of the phiſikis as is neidfull w^t^ the ſpheir Item that the buikis maiſt neidfull and proffitable ſall be appointit for everie claſs be the Rector Deanis of facultie and yair aſſeſſo^rs^ Item that everie author be red in that toung q^l^k they write into Item that the twa claſſes of humanitie ſall ſpend at the leaſt an ho^r^ daylie in compoſitioun Item that in the laſt ſix moneths of the ſecund zeir they ſal begyne to declame aynis in the moneth in Greek and Latyne alternatim beſyds thair daily compoſitiouns q^l^k declamatiouns ſall conteniw the twa laſt years Item that emulatioun may be ſterit up amongis the ſaidis ſcollaris that they be devidit in Decurijs and he preferrit to greiteſt honno^r^ quha beſt declamis or compoſis his the meayns in the moneth to be gevin for that end Item that in everie ane of the ſaidis foure claſs's thair ſall be everie Sonday ane leſſone in Greek The firſt in the Evangell of Sant Luke, The ſecund in the Actis of the Appoſtlis The third in the Epiſtlis to the Romanis The fourt in the Epiſtle to the Ebrews Item becaus the zouth tynis meikle tyme zeirlie be lang vaccance We ordane that the vaccance ſall induir

the

the onlie moneth of September and befoir the firſt day of October everie ane ſall returne At the q'lk day the examinatioun of the ſchollaris of humanitie and phyloſophie ſall begyne amongis quhome the worthie to be promotit and the negligent to be haldin bak Item that about the twentie day of Auguſt they that have endit yair cours efter rigorous examinatioun being found qualifyt ſal be maid maiſteris And quhen it ſall happine the principal or ony of the foure ordiner profeſſors and Regentis in aither of the ſaids twa collegis appointed for humanitie and phyloſophie to inlaik or that the nowmber appointit ſall not be full The electioun of qualifyt perſonis thairunto ſall perteine to the ſaidis Biſchop Conſeruato' Rector Dean^es of faculties and remanent maiſteris of all the three colleges or the maiſt pairt of thame that ſall be p̃nt at the day appointit for the electioun ffor q'k purpois edicts ſall be ſett up in maner and within the like ſpace as is preſcriuit in the elelectioun of the maiſters in the college of theologie And the Burſaris in Art to be reſſavit and admittit be rigor of examinatioun zeirlie in tyme coming efter this preſent at the firſt day of October That the principal of Sanct Salvators college ſall be profeſſor in medicine And the principal of Sanct Leonardis in the philoſophy of Plato q'ks ſall reid ordinarlie foure tymes in the oulk Monunday Tueſday Wedneſday and Friday at the hor^s to be appointit be the

the electors and Mrs of the Univerſitie That the lawer and mathematiciane of befoir in the New College ſall now bein Sanct Salvators college and have their ſtipendis and buirdis upoun the fruitis y'of and be electit and admitit as the maiſteris of the colleges That the lawer now appointit to remane and be in Sant Salvators college ſall reid within the ſame foure leſſonis of the law ouklie viz' on Monunday Tueſday Wedneſday and Friday to q'lk leſſonis in the law ſall be ordiner auditors all the Advocattis and Scribis in the conſiſtorie & ſic utheris as ar deſirous to proceid in the facultie of the law and that nane be admittit beſoir the Lordis or uther juges to ordiner procuratioun except they ſal gif firſt ſpecimen doctrine in the Univerſitie of Sant Andr and report a teſtimoniall of the ſaid Univerſitie witneſſing thair qualificatioun and how far they have procedit in the ſtudie of the law And y'w'all affirming that they diligentlie kepit the leſſonis ſa lang as they remainit in the Univerſitie That the mathematiciane now in Sant Salvators College ſall reid w'hin the ſame foure leſſonis ouklie in the mathematick ſciences in ſic dayis and hor' as ſall be appointit to the ſaidis lawer and mathematiciane be the rector and maiſteris of the Univerſitie q'lk alſua ſall appoint the ordiner auditoris for the mathematiciane That the electors and maiſteris of all the Collegis in the Univerſity the Proveſt of the Citie w' ſic twa of the Bailles yairof as they

they ſal think meit to tak w^t yame or ſa mony of this nowmer as ar preſent in the cietie for the tyme ſall convene w^t the principallis of the thrie collegis everie zeir upon the firſt day of October And be common conſent and agreement condeſcend and preſcrive the prices of buirdis and maner and nowmer of courſes of ſic as levis Collegialiter for the zeir then to cum that the prices and orde^r may be uniform in all the thrie Collegis q^throw the differences of prices or diverſitie of cheir prejudge nane of thame That the wonted obedience reverence and authoritie that in ancient tyme wes given to the Chancellair Rector Deanis of faculteis and Conſervators and of lait zeirs hes ſumquhat decayit be reſtorit and that everie ane of the chief officiaris quhether it be in jugement geving upoun thame yat ar under yair juriſdictioun or in viſiting the collegis be mantenit And nawiſs ſtoppit be ony allegit privilege in the contrarie And that in place of the pane of curſing uſit of befoir upoun offendors and inobedientis they be now decernit be decreit of the rector and cheif memberis of the Univerſitie efter the cognitioun of the caus to be debarrit ſecludit and removit out of the Univerſitie and to tyne and forfault the privilegis and benefittis y^tof To the executioun of q^lk decreit the provoſt and baillies of the citie of Sant Androis ſall concurr and aſſiſt gif the neceſſitie ſua requir And that they be yairunto be the Univerſitie requirit or utherwiſs thair ſall ſiclike

leres

leẽes paſs be deliverance of the Lordis of Counſall and Seſſioun upon the ſaid decreit and diſobedience yairof as had wont to be gevin of beſoir upoun curſit perſonis w'hin the ſaid Univerſitie upoun the requiſitioun of the ſame That the pointis properlie belanging to the office of the Chancellair Rector Deanis of faculties and Conſeruator of the Univerſitie be ſocht out of the ancient ſtatutis foundatiounis and privilegis be the perſonis preſentlie occupying the ſame offices And that everie ane pñt his awin to zo' Majeſtie betwixt and the firſt day of Marche nixt to cum To the effect that the ſamin being found guide and allowable may alſua be regiſtrat and remane w' thir preſent ſtatutis That the foundat perſonis in everie college alſwell teacheris as ſtudentis be firſt well qualifyt according to the order now appointit and nixt that they be diligent in diſcharging of thair offices to the intent that nouther ignorance nor ydilnes in place of ſcience and virtuis lauboring be mantenit or permittit bot that everie ane according to the order preſentlie appointit be exerciſit That the wiffis bairnis & ſervandis of the principalis and utheris maſteris in the Univerſitie be put apairt in the citie out of the collegis ſwa that wemen to a evill and ſlanderous example have not reſidence amang the zoung men ſtudentis nor zit that the ſame women have ony adminiſtratioun and handilling of the common guidis of the college to the greit

prejudice

prejudice thairof & of ſic as frielie wald gif thame ſelffis to the ſtudie of lerẽs Be it alwayis heirby underſtand that the bairnis and ſervandis of the ſaidis principallis and maiſteris that ſall be actuall ſtudentis lauchfullie & orderlie enterit in the College ar not heirby ſecludit—That everie college be viſit thryſs in the zeir be the Rector Deanis of facultis w^t yair aſſeſſors conforme to the ſtatutis of the Univerſitie and for keiping of guide order and uniformity—That everie manis plaint be hard and the default quhatſumever corrected And q^r outher the Rector or Dean of facultie is principall or M^r in ony College in that caiſe the remanent electors and viſitors to viſite that College That the principallis of the Collegis betwixt and the firſt day of May nixt to cum certifie zo^r Ma^tie quhat perſonis ar enterit to yame of new be pñtation of zo^r Hienes or uther patronis as burſaris to ony prebendreis or ſicklike rentis and quhen everie ane enterit And that they alſua gif warning to zo^r Hienes or utheris patrounis quhen the roumes vaikis outher be deceaſs deprivatioun or ending of the courſe and dew tyme and thair entres in reſpect of the termes of pament to be reknit outher at Martymes or Witſonday That quhen the burſare pñtit ſall not be found qualifyt the principall or M^r ſall be his awin lettre direct w^t ane uther nor the partie repulſit certifie zo^r Majeſtie or uther patroun of the cauſs of non admiſſioun or deprivatioun To the

the effect that ane uther ſufficientlie qualified may be pñtit to the roume of new the like certificatioun to be at the zeirlie examinatioun of the Burſaris in caiſe they be not found worthie to proceid furthward in thair degreis That in all admiſſioun and promotioun the examinators and aſſeſſors be ſworne That they ſall admit nor promoue nane bot ſic as ſall be be the rigor of examinatioun and ſufficient literature found worthie to be promoted That all publict lectors have a regiſter of all the ordinar auditors cummand to the leſſone alſwell of thair awin College as w^thout And that the ſaidis auditors ſubſcrive the diſcipline and be ſubject to the exerciſe and diſputatioun And the day of thair entrie to be regiſtrat And ſeing the perſonis preſentlie to be diſplacit (beſide the Proveſt of the New College quaha hes alredie the charge of the miniſtrie of the cietie and parochyne of Sant Andr̃ q^lk is a burding griet anouch for ony ane man to diſcharge) ar outher Regentis, or Burſaris in philoſophie Thairfoir that the Regentis diſplacit be preferrit to the places of Burſaris in theologie in the ſaid New College gif they will accept the ſame and the Burſaris of philoſophie thairin q^lkis hes beene lawchfullie reſſavit to be ſtill nowriſhit and interteinyt q^ll the end of thair cours upoun the ſtipendis of twa of the maiſteris of the ſaid New College q^lk ſall not entir q^ll the rentis of the ſame College convenientlie may ſuſtene yame

And the ſaids Burſaris to reſort to thair leſſonis in ony of the uther tua Colleges q^r they think meitaſt q^ll the end of yair courſs to be contenewit in ſic forme as they begonth The principall maiſteris of the Colleges ſall have na intromiſſioun w^t the common guidis and rentis yairof bot ane yconomus choſyne and havand commiſſioun of the haill maiſteris of everie College Of q^lk yconomus they ſall reſſave daylie compt And that yair be in everie College ane common kiſt w^t a ſindrie lok and key for everie M^r yairof for preſervatioun of the rentis of the College q^ll the ſamin be richtlie diſtributit w^t common conſent And tueching the rentis and diſtributioun yairof We ordane the rentis of the kirkis annext of auld to the feis of ſeveral maiſteris in Sant Salvators College to remane and be comptit in tyme cuming amang the ordiner rentis of the ſame College And that aither of the tua principall maiſters profeſſors of theologie in the ſaid New College ſall have for yair fie and yair awin and yair ſervandis buird an hundreth pundis money and thrie chalderis victuall viz^t Tuelf bollis quheit ane chalder beir and ane chalder foure bollis aittis & everie ane of the uther thrie maiſteris and profeſſoris of theologie in the ſame College ane hundreth pundis and ane chalder victuall viz^t foure bollis quheit ſex bollis beir and ſex bollis aittis everie ane of the aucht Burſaris of theologie w^thin the ſame New College

ſall have for his buird tuentie tua pundis ſex ſchillings aucht pennies money tua bollis quheit five bollis beir tua bollis aittis And the reſt of the rentis to be beſtowit for the feis of the common ſervandis reparatioun of the place and reſervit for publict uſis upoun compt— In the Collegis of humanitie and philoſophie the principall M^r and the lawer and the mathematiciane everie ane for his awin fie and his awin and his ſervandis buird ane hundreth pundis money and ane chalder aittis everie ane of the uther foure ordiner profeſſors or regentis before writtin for his fie and his buird ane hundreth merkis and for the buird of everie burſare in philoſophie fiftie merkis reſervand the reſt of the rentis for the feis of the common ſervandis reparatioun of the place and utheris publict uſis upoun compt Providing that all perſonis thus ordanit to leif on the College rentis and that his ordiner charges w^thin the Collegis apply that q^lk^ls appointit for yair buird and eat togither w^thin the College in ſic ſort as they can beſt aggrie amangis thameſelffis. That it be nawayis lauchfull to the maiſteris of ony of the ſaidis Collegis to ſett the kirks landis fruitis and rentis annexit yairto in few or takkis to the diminutioun of the rentall or be the changing of victuall in prices of ſilver under the pane of deprivatioun from yair places And in caiſe ony ſall happine malicioufly to do utherways that it be worthie caus of deprivatioun to

the ſettare And that the ſett ſeu or diſpoſitioun quhatſumever ſall be na langer valiable to the purchaſſers yrof nor the ſetters bruikis yair places and roumes in the College And for executioun of this preſent Reformatioun we humblie and earneſtlie require zo^r Majeſtie to grant commiſſioun to ſic honourable worthie & zealous perſonis as zo^r Hienes and zo^r eſtaittis ſal think expedient that will and may attend yairto ſpeciallie to command thame to call befoir thame all ſic as hes had the charge of the ſaides Collegis and intromettit w^t the rentis thairof in tyme bigane—And to heir & ſee thair compts ſubſcryvit diſchargis to yame reſſave yair rentallis librarys inſicht pleneſſingis upoun perfite inventair and deliver the ſame upon the like inventair to the maiſteris now to be placit according to this reformatioun in the ſaidis Collegis with formal & guide rentallis to be maid of the rentis of everie ane of the ſaidis Collegis for the better collectioun and compt yairof in tyme cuming Inhibiting the perſonis now diſplacit of all further melling and intromiſſioun with the ſaidis rentis And all fewaris fermoraris tennentis takſmen parochynaris and utheris qhatſumever of all anſuering obeying and payment making of the ſame to the ſaidis diſplacit perſonis of the terme of Martymes nixt to cum Of the cropt of this inſtant yeir of God Jmvc & lxxix yeirs [1579] certifying thame that dois in the contrair they ſall be compellit to pay the ſame

over

over agane And that it may pleis zor Majeſtie to cauſe viſite and conſider the ſaid Univerſitie of new at the end of foure zeiris following the firſt day of October laſt bypaſt that it may be knawin quhat fruict and effect followis be this reformatioun And always fra thyne furth at the end of everie foure zeirs And that it may pleis zor Hienes according to zor godlie zeall always to the avancement of Goddis glorie and guide leres to grant unto the ſaid Univerſitie and to the Mrs and memberis actuallie reſident yairin and to the yconomus and procurator of everie College the like privilege for calling and expeditioun of yair actionis and cauſſ's befoir the Lords of Counſall and Seſſioun as is grantit to the prelatis and members of the College of Juſtice And ſa to provide for ſuſtentatioun of the miniſtrie at the kirkis annext to the ſaidis Collegis be the ſuperplus of the thriddis and utheris eccleſiaſticall rentis As neither the rentis of the Collegis be diminiſhit nor the foundat perſonis w'drawin from thair ordiner ſtudyis and teiching to ſerve as miniſteris at particular kirkis In witneſs q'of we have ſubſcrivit thir pntis w' o' handis at Ed' the aucht day of November the zeir of God Jajvc thrieſcore nynetene zeirs ſic ſubſcribitur Levinax R. Dumfermling G. Buchannane James Haliburtoun P. Young Thairfoir our ſaid Soverane Lord w' aviſe of his thrie eſtaitis ratifies approvis and confirmis the ſaid

reformatioun of the ſaid Univerſitie of Sanct Andr̃ maid at his Hienes command as ſaid is And for putting of the ſame in full executioun his Majeſtie w^t aviſe of his ſaidis eſtaitis gevis and grantis full power commiſſion and authoritie to his deareſt and onlie greit uncle Robert Erle of Levinax Lord Dernlie Commendatair of the Priorie of Sant Androis Andro Erle of Rothes Lord Leſlie Sheriff of Fyff Patrick Archbiſhop of Sanct Androis Patrick Lord Lyndſay of the Byris Robert Commendatair of Dumfermling his Hienes Secretair and Archedeane of Sanct Androiſ̃ John Erſkyne of Dwn M^r Johne Wynrhame, prio^r of Portmook M^r James Halyburtoun Provoſt of Dundee or ony thrie of thame conjunctlie Commanding all the p̃t miniſteris and memberis of the ſaid Univerſitie to anſuer and obey the ſaidis commiſſioneris in executioun of the ſaid reformatioun according to the effect and meaning yrof And gif neid be to mak oppin durris and lokkis for the q^lk the doaris ſall incurr na danger in yair perſonis landis or guidis nor ſall not be callit nor accuſit for the ſamin criminallie nor ewillie be ony maner of way in tyme coming The auld foundatiouns and erectiouns of the ſaidis Collegis and haill Univerſitie or ony thing contenit yrin notw^tſtanding q^ranent his Majeſtie w^t aviſe of his ſaidis eſtaitis diſpenſ's And that the Lordis of Counſall and Seſſioun direct

direct bres to the effect reſpective abovewrittin in forme as effeirs.

Carefully collated with the Record.

W.[illiam] R.[obertſon.]

The foregoing act, for *the Reformatioun of the Univerſitie of St. Androis*, did not, however, continue long in force. It was repealed by a leſs innovating parliament, in 1621. [Glendook's Acts, p. 482, the *unprinted* laws, No. 71.] By this unpubliſhed act, the univerſity of St. Andrew's was again placed on the *reſpectable footing* of its *firſt foundation*. And, in order to gratify the reader's curioſity, I have ſubjoined the *Act of Ratification in favour of the Univerſity of St. Andrew's of their firſt foundations:*

In the Parliament halden at Edin^r y^e 4^th day of Auguſt 1621 years Our Sovereign L^d & eſtates of Parliament, underſtanding the alteration and change which has been made on the firſt foundations of the Colleges within the Univerſity of St. Andrews to have bred ſuch uncertainty in profeſſions of ſciences & obſervation of orders appointed by the firſt foundations of the s^d Colleges, that the greater part of the profeſſours are negligent making no profeſſion at all of teaching, as not knowing whereto they ſhall betake themſelves; neither can their viſitations which are made for reformation of diſorders take any profitable effect in reſpect of the alterations before mentioned; & that it ſeemeth moſt equit-

able that the wills of the firſt foundators ſhould take effect, except where the ſamen is repugnant to the true religion preſently profeſſed within this kingdom: Therefor our Sov^{n} L^{d} & eſtates foreſaids ratifies and approves the foreſaids firſt foundations of the ſaids Colleges in all the heads articles and clauſes of the ſamen in ſwa far as the ſamen may ſtand with the eſtate of the true religion; and ordains the M^{rs} and profeſſours within the ſamen Colleges hereafter to obſerve the profeſſions appointed by the firſt foundators to them, and to conforme themſelves to the orders contained and ſet down in their firſt foundations. (they only excepted that the M^{rs} of the New College keep ſtill the profeſſion of divinity within their ſchools as preſently is and has been uſed and exerced theſe years bygone, and that in all other things the M^{rs} of the s^{d} N. C. obſerve the laws of the firſt foundation) according to the which all viſitations and trials hereafter ſhal be made, and no otherways, diſcharging all acts and ſtatutes made in prejudice of their firſt foundations.

THE APPENDIX, No. 2.

Parl[t] of Scotland holden at Edinb[r] 11th Auguſt 1607.

Commiſſoun anent grammer & teacheris thairof.

[See before, p. 23.]

"OURE Souerane Lord and eſtaittis of this preſent Parliament Vndirſtanding the Latine towng to be greatlie diminiſchit within this realme to the heavie preiudice of the commounweill of the ſamyn And the ſpeciall cauſe thairof to be ye want of the vniforme teacheing of all the pairtis of grammer eſtabliſhit be ane law in all the pairtis of this realme, Wherethrow be the curioſitie of diuerſs maiſteris of ſcholis baith to burgh and to land (*a*) taking vpoun them efter thair fanteſie to teache ſuche grammer as pleaſis them The zouth quha be occaſioun of the peſt and vtherwayes being

(*a*) That is, both in town and country.

of

" oft and diuerſs tymes changit to diuerſs ſcholis
" and maiſteris be alteratioun of the forme of
" teacheing ar haillely prejudgeit — ffor remede
" q'of it is thocht expedient be o' Souerane
" Lord and eſtaittis of this preſent Parliament
" That thair ſhall be ane ſatlit forme of the beſt
" and maiſt commoun and approvin grammer and
" all pairtis thereof collectit eſtabliſchit and
" prentit to be vniuerſallie teachit in all the
" pairtis of this realme be the haill maiſteris and
" teacheares of grammer in all tyme cumming
" Thairfoir oure ſaid Souerane Lord and eſtaittis
" of Parliament preſentlie convenit hes gevin
" and grantit and be thir preſentis geves and
" grantis full power & commiſſioun to Alexander
" Erle of Dunfermeling chancellar of this realme
" James Lord of Balmirrenoch ſecretar to his
" Maieſtie S' Thomas Hammyltoun of Bynnie
" kny' his hienes aduocat Mr. Johne Preſtoun
" of Penycuik collector generall S' Johne Skene
" of Curryhill kny' clerk of regeſtir Mr. Thomas
" Craig and M' Williame Oliphant aduocattis
" M' William Scott of Elie M' Patrick Sandes
" & M' John Roy ſcholemaiſter (*b*) of Edin-
" bur' or ony fyve of thame coniunctlie to trye
" cognoſce conclude and ſett doun ſic forme
" and ordo' as they ſall think maiſt meitt and
" expedient to be obſeruet heireftir be all maiſ-

(*b*) Probably ſhould be, "ſcholemaiſters."

" teris

" teris of grammer within this realme And o^r
" ſaid Souerane Lord and eſtaittis foirſaid de-
" claris that the proceedings of the ſaid commiſ-
" ſiounaris in the ſaid mater ſhall be als effec-
" tuall as gif the ſamyn wer ſpecialie ſett doun
" be act of this preſent Parliament And that
" publicatioun be maid thairof at all places
" neidfull with command thairin to all maiſteris
" of ſcholis to obey the ſamyn vnder the pane
" of deprivatioun of thame frome teacheing and
" payment of tuentie pundis to the pure of the
" parochin quhair they duell."

Edinb^r General Regiſter-Houſe, Tueſday, 15th March 1791—faithfully collated with the Record,

WM. ROBERTSON.

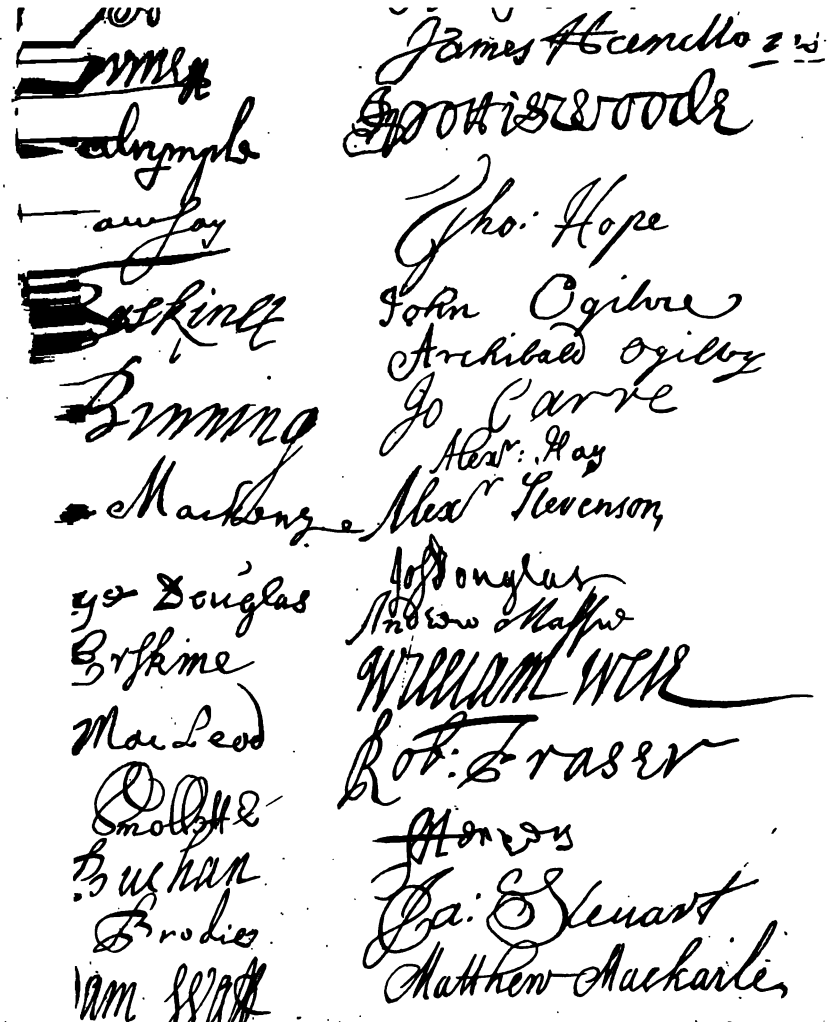
MEM.—In Glendook's Acts, p. 364, there is mention of an *unprinted* act, 1597, 15 Ja. VI. *For ane grammer to be univerſalle teachd.*—In anſwer to my requeſt for a copy of this *unprinted* act, Mr. Robertſon wrote me, on the 25th of February 1791:—" You will be no leſs ſurpriſed
" to be informed than I was to diſcover, that no
" ſuch act is to be found in our records of par-
" liament. Of this ſingular circumſtance, how-
" ever incredible, I can poſitively aſſure you, on
" the authority of a moſt attentive ſearch and re-
" ſearch; not only of the record of the parliament,

" 1597,

"1597, but likewiſe of thoſe of the imme-
"diately preceding, and the immediately ſubſe-
"quent parliaments."—On the 15th of March 1791, however, Mr. Robertſon wrote me, as follows:—"Accident, I think, has enabled me "to gratify your curioſity about the univerſal "ſtatutory Scots Grammar. I incloſe an exact "copy of an act of parliament, which occurred "to me this forenoon, in the proſecution of an "inveſtigation, relating to a very different mat-"ter. It appears to be the act ſet down by "Skene and his copier Glendook erroneouſly, "among the unprinted acts of parliament 1597." The facts before ſtated are alone ſufficient to evince the neceſſity of printing the rolls and acts of the Scots parliament, after a careful ſearch and from accurate copies. The acts of Skene and Glendook are not to be truſted.

THE

THE which Day the ſaids Mr. Joh
Rudiman on the terms of the appointm
albeit he had ane invitation at preſent
carried to the Facultie he choiſed rath
their ſervice, Upon hearing of which
reſolution the s[d] fifteenth of July Jajv
be retained by the Theſaurer, and ad



The APPENDIX, No. 4.

Grammaticæ Latinæ à Scotis Scriptæ, Secundum temporis quo quiſque ſcripſerit ordinem diſpoſitæ.—[From the Bibliotheca Ruddimanniana. See before, p. 63.]

1. VAUS (Jo.) Primus literarum humaniorum in Academia Regali Aberdonenſi profeſſor. In primam doctrinalis Alexandrini partem, ab Jod. Bad. Aſcenſio recognitam, Commentarij; ab eodem Aſcenſio itidem recogniti atque impreſſi, Pariſ. ab eund. 1522, 4to.
2. Buchananus (Geor.) De Proſodia Libellus, Edin. ap. Walde-grave, 12mo.
   Exſt. Cum Boëthio de Conſol. Philoſoph. ap. Plantinum, 1590, 12mo.
   Et inter ejus Opera editionis Ruddimannianæ et Burmannianæ.
3. Simſonus (Andr.) ſive Simonides, Ludimagiſter Dunbarenſis, et poſtea ejus eccleſiæ Paſtor. Rudimenta Grammatices in gratiam juventutis Scoticæ Conſcripta. Prima ejus editio exiit Edin. 1587, 8vo.

4. Car-

4. Carmichael (Jac.) Grammaticæ Latinæ de Etymologiæ liber Secundus, Cantab. 1587, 4to.
5. Duncanus (Andr.) Grammatica Latina, Edin. 1597, 8vo.
6. Humius (Alex.) Grammatica Nova in Uſum Juventutis Scoticæ, et Auctoritate Senatus omnibus regni Scholis imperata. Edin. 1612, 8vo.

——— Virtutes Grammaticæ à Grammaticis hactenus vel incognitæ vel neglectæ ab Alexandro Humio, ex antiqua gente Humiorum in Scotia, in ſua Grammatica revelatæ, MS. 8vo.

7. Leochæus (Jo.) [i. e. Leech] Rudimenta Grammaticæ Latinæ, in gratiam Jacobi Moraviæ, domini Anandiæ, cui Leochæis erat Præceptor. Lond. 1624, 12mo.
8. Wedderburn (David) Short Introduction to Grammar. Aberdeen, 1632, 8vo.

——— Inſtitutiones Grammaticæ. Aberd. 1634. 8vo.

——— Vocabula cum aliis Latinæ Linguæ Subſidiis. Hæc Vocabula Omnibus fere Simſoni Rudimentis ſubjuncta imprimebantur.

9. Williamſonus (R.) Ludimagiſter Cuprenſis. Grammatica Latina ex Deſpauterio et Linacro præcipuè Concinnata. Edin. 1632, 8vo.

——— Elementa

——— Elementa Linguæ Latinæ è grammaticorum, imprimis, Donati, Deſpauterij, Eraſmi, Lilij, Linacri, et Nebriſſenſis, cornucopia grammaticali excerpta. Edin. 1625, 12mo.

Exſt. cum Simſonis Rudimentis ap. Moncur. 1709, 12mo.

10. Lightbodius (Geo.) Queſtiones grammaticæ. Edin. 1660, 8vo.

11. Kirkwodus (Jac.) Ludimagiſter Primùm Limnuchenſis, deinde Kelſoenſis. Grammatica facilis, ſeu nova et artificioſa methodus docendi linguam Latinam: Cui præfiguntur animadverſiones in rudimenta noſtra vulgaria et grammaticam Deſpauterianam. Glaſg. 1674, 8vo.

——— Prima pars Grammaticæ in Metrum redacta. Edin. 1675, 8vo.

——— Grammatica delienata ſecundum ſententiam plurium. Lond. 1677, 8vo.

——— Grammatica Deſpauteriana, cum nova novi generis gloſſa. Editio tertia. Edin. 1711, 8vo.

——— Eadem. Edit. quarta. Edin. 1720, 8vo.

12. Dykes (Patr.) Scholarcha Dunenſis, Grammatica Latina. Edin. 1679, 8vo.

—— Ejuſdem. Edit. 2ª, multo auctior, Edin. 1685, 8vo.

13. Monro (Jo.) Philoſophiæ in Academia Andreapolitana profeſſor. Nova et artificioſa

tiam notæ perpetuæ, &c. pars prima, quæ eſt de Etymologia. Edin. 1725, 8vo.

Earundum cum notis, pars 2ª, quæ eſt de Syntaxi. Edin. 1731, 8vo.

24. Trotterus (Rob.) Ludimagiſter Dumfrieſienſis. Grammaticæ Latinæ Compendium. Edin. 1732, 8vo.

Eadem. Edin. 1733, 8vo.

Hæc falſò ſe Editionem ſecundam perhibet, mentiturque impreſſam. Edin. 1733, 8vo.

25. Love (John) Schoolmaſter firſt of Dunbarton, and afterwards of Dalkeith. Animadverſions on Mr. Robert Trotter's Latin Grammar. Edin. 1733, 8vo.

26. Ruddiman (Tho.) A Diſſertation upon the Way of teaching the Latin Tongue; wherein the Objections raiſed againſt his Grammar are anſwered and confuted; and the vulgar Practice, of teaching Latin by a Grammar writ in the ſame language, is juſtified: With ſome Critical Remarks on Mr. Jo. Clark of Hull, his new Latin Grammar, &c. Edin. 1733, 8vo.

27. Purdie (Ja.) Schoolmaſter of Glaſgow. Index to the Etymology of Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar. Glaſg. 1733, 8vo.

28. Stirling (Jo.) Introduction to the four Parts of Latin Grammar, &c. This, after a

ſingular, and (I may ſay) a very idle manner, Mr. Stirling hath ſubjoined to moſt of the authors publiſhed by him; ſuch as Corderius, Eutropius, &c. 8vo.

29. Mair (John) Schoolmaſter of Air. Introduction to Latin Syntax; or an Exemplification of the Rules of Conſtruction, as delivered in Mr. Ruddiman's Rudiments. Edin. 1755, 8vo.

THE APPENDIX, No. 5.

Various Proceedings, with regard to the *Uſe* of Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar in the *High School* of Edinburgh. [See before, p. 96.]

[No. 1.]

Edin^{r}, 2 Feb^{ry} 1785.

THE Lord Provoſt repreſented [to the Town-Council] that the preſent method of teaching two grammars in the High School is much complained of, and that it would be proper at this time to make regulations; that peace and good order might be kept up in the ſaid ſchool.

His lordſhip therefore propoſed that the Council remit to the Principal of the college, profeſſors Dalzel, and Hill, to take theſe matters under their conſideration.—That copies of all acts of Council, containing regulations for the High School, be put into their hands, with a recommendation to them, to report their opinion what grammar ſhould be taught, and what regulations the Council ſhould make, for promoting peace and good order in ſaid ſchool.

[No.

[No. 2.]

Report on the foregoing Remit.

The Principal of the Univerſity of Edin^r, with the profeſſors of Greek, and Humanity, having been deſired by their honourable patrons, to report their opinion, concerning the grammar, which ought to be taught in the High School of this city, and alſo concerning ſuch regulations as may be proper for promoting peace and good order in that ſchool; and having been at the ſame time furniſhed with copies of the Acts of Council relative to thoſe ſubjects on former occaſions; Do, after mature deliberation, humbly offer the following opinion to their honourable patrons.

WITH reſpect to the proper grammar to be taught in the High School. — As the late Mr. Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar, being the works of a very learned, judicious, and experienced maſter in the Latin tongue, have been for many years, and now are, taught, almoſt univerſally in the ſchools of this kingdom, and are at preſent the grammatical books uſed by the

four ordinary maſters of the High School, the ſaid principal, and profeſſors think, that the uſe of theſe books ought to be continued in the ſaid ſchool: But, in order that the ſeveral claſſes, that are brought forward to the rector in ſucceſſion by the ſaid maſters, may be taught grammar in an uniform manner, the principal, and profeſſors are of opinion, that the four maſters ſhould be appointed to meet together, and after the moſt mature conſultation to ſelect and mark out ſuch rules or parts of rules in Ruddiman's Grammar, as they think neceſſary to be taught, and uniformly to teach and apply thoſe rules to their ſeveral claſſes; and that then it ſhould be recommended to the rector to continue the uſe of ſaid rules with the ſcholars that attend his claſs. At ſame time, if he finds it neceſſary to add any other rules, or any other grammatical obſervations, which he may deem uſeful, particularly in connecting the Engliſh with the Latin grammar, that he may do this from the grammar publiſhed by himſelf; and they have no doubt that his own diſcretion and ſollicitude for the improvement of his ſcholars will lead him to avoid loading their memories with the repetition of new rules, of the ſame import with thoſe, which they have already learned.

2. As to the diſcipline of the ſchool, the ſaid principal, and profeſſors think, that it would be of great benefit to the ſcholars, if the public hall were

were commodiouſly fitted up, ſo as to give all the claſſes, with their maſters, an opportunity to aſſemble every morning for prayers, as formerly was the practice, previous to the building of the new ſchool houſe, and alſo in the forenoon of every Saturday for public examinations, and public repetition of ſelect paſſages from the poets, hiſtorians, and orators; and for ſuch parts of diſcipline as the rector and maſters may find it proper to exerciſe there, for the general good order of the ſchool. And laſtly, for information reſpecting the relative duties of the rector, and maſters, the ſaid principal, and profeſſors beg leave to refer their honourable patrons to what is contained in thoſe particular points in the Act of Council, dated 8 Feb^{r} 1710, which the ſaid principal, and profeſſors find to expreſs ſuch injunctions as intirely correſpond with their own ſentiments on thoſe ſubjects. Given under our hands, and dated 15 Octo^{r} 1785.

A Copy from the Act of Council, 8 Feb^{r} 1710, ſo far as relates to the diſcipline of the School, referred to in the foregoing Report of the Principal and Profeſſors.

CONCERNING the diſcipline of the ſchool, it will be convenient that the diſcipline of each claſs be exerciſed as it was ſome years ago by

its proper maſters in all ordinary caſes; but in great faults or diſorders the boys that are guilty are to be chaſtiſed by the rector himſelf, that they may be aſhamed, and others frighted from the like faults.—That as all the maſters have the immediate charge of teaching and diſcipline in their reſpective claſſes, ſo the rector ſhall have the ſame charge not only in his own claſs, but take care alſo that all the maſters wait punctually on the ſchool at the ordinary dyet, be diligent and faithful in their buſineſs; and if any of them ſhould either neglect his duty, or perform it ſuperficially, or ſhould not obſerve a prudent conſtant courſe of diſcipline, and good order, the rector is then to admoniſh him privately for the firſt time; for the ſecond before all his colleagues, and if he regard not that, the rector is without delay to repreſent the matter to the Magiſtrates and Town Council.

[No. 3.]

Unto the Right Honourable the Lord Provoſt and Magiſtrates, &c. of Edinburgh; the Repreſentation of the Maſters of the High School of Edinburgh.

THE maſters having met, at the deſire of the honourable the Magiſtrates and Town Council, to conſider a report tranſmitted to them, from a very

very reſpectable committee of the Univerſity, relative to the Latin Grammar moſt uſefull for inſtructing their pupils in the principles of that language, unanimouſly reſolved to repreſent, and hereby do humbly repreſent, to their honourable patrons, 1st That the Rudiments of the Latin tongue, publiſhed by the learned and judicious Thomas Ruddiman, is the beſt book, they have yet ſeen, for teaching children the firſt principles of Latin. 2nd That the Latin Grammar, publiſhed by the ſame author, is in their opinion the beſt ſyſtem of Latin Grammar, that has hitherto been taught in Scotland. 3rd That many ſenſible men have doubted, whether the rudiments or firſt principles of Latin ought to be taught in Latin, or in the mother tongue, or in both; but that to boys who have learned the firſt principles, the other grammatical rules and obſervations ought to be communicated in Latin, is a point about which hardly any doubt has been entertained. 4th That although the language of grammar muſt differ from the language of the hiſtorian, the poet, and the orator, yet it is ſtill the Latin language; and boys, while they learn Latin grammar, learn the Latin language at the ſame time. 5th That a perſon who has acquired the firſt principles of French or Italian will learn either of theſe languages much ſooner if he lives in France or Italy, than if he continues in his native country; and the fewer of his own countrymen he converſes with, he will learn theſe or any foreign language the ſooner.

ſooner. 6th That when once a boy has learned the firſt principles of Latin, the grammar in Latin ought to be put into his hands, the Latin rules ought to be committed to memory, and the illuſtrations of theſe rules, by queſtions, anſwers, and examples, ought to be as much as poſſible in Latin; for this in ſome ſort reſembles an emigration to ancient Rome, where buſineſs of every kind is tranſacted in the (Latin) language of that country. 7th That it is impoſſible for them to mark out the rules of Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar, which they will certainly and uniformly teach during the courſe of four years in their reſpective claſſes, for that muſt depend in a great meaſure on the age and capacity of their pupils: but they conſider the whole ſyſtem as neceſſary to be read and underſtood, and the more of the rules that can be committed to memory, and retained by frequent repetition, the better. 8th That if the rector of the ſchool take up the ſame grammar, where they leave it, and continue the boys in the ſame train of repetitions, and faithful application of rules; and if the Profeſſor of Humanity, in the Univerſity, ſucceed the rector of the ſchool in the ſame exerciſes, this unity of plan and of excution, in their opinion, muſt promote the knowledge of the Latin language more than any other method known to them. 9th That they would look upon it as a great advantage if only one Latin grammar was taught through the whole kingdom; and that the grammar ought to be the book

book recommended by the experience of the greateſt number of the moſt judicious teachers, for this would tend to unite ſchools and colleges, to direct the views of maſters and ſcholars to one object, and connect them more cloſely with the Republic of Letters in Europe. 10th That the great ſchools in England, which have maintained their characters for ages, and educated many ſcholars of the firſt eminence, have for centuries perſiſted, and ſtill do perſiſt, in teaching Latin grammar in the Latin language, and in verſe rules, for the ſake of memory. 11th That Mr. Ruddiman's grammatical works introduced themſelves into all the moſt conſiderable ſchools of this country by their intrinſic merit alone, by which they ſtill maintain their ground, and probably will do ſo for ages to come; and many teachers and ſcholars of character, who have already learned ſome other ſyſtem of grammar, convinced of the ſuperior excellence of this, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of the Latin language with much ſatisfaction and improvement. 12th That if two Latin grammars in one country ſeem hurtful, two in one ſeminary muſt ſeem much more hurtful, and naturally tend to produce diſcontents and animoſities between teachers; confuſion, perplexity, and ignorance among ſcholars; and among boys of leſs diſcernment they may produce a diſguſt at manly hardineſs and uſeful labour, and perhaps at laſt a ſettled contempt of all grammatical and literary reſearches. 13th That they are perſuaded their ſucceſs in teaching depends

pends on their faithful and diligent proſecution of the plan above recommended, and are fully convinced their honourable patrons will never require them to give their countenance to mutilating, abridging, altering, or corrupting, Mr. Ruddiman's Grammar in any way whatever. 14th That they have carefully avoided all critical ſtrictures upon the comparative merit of authors, nor would they be thought to depreciate the well-meant induſtry of any man; they only beg leave to hint, that ſo long as their labours are ſo acceptable to the public, and their claſſes ſo well attended, the rector never can ſuffer by following the ſame plan of teaching with them. 15th That the plan of ſchool diſcipline, ſo judiciouſly marked out by the Act of Council 1710, they heartily approve, provided they could ſee the leaſt probability of its being carried into execution with temper, prudence, and cordiality.—The maſters of the High School cannot conclude this repreſentation without returning their warmeſt and moſt ſincere thanks to their honourable patrons, by whoſe ſpirited and generous aid, at the head of an approving and liberal community, they are provided with the beſt teaching apartments in Britain; and by whoſe unremitted exertions this city is beautified, extended, and improved in every quarter, and ſtrangers are encouraged to ſettle here for the education of their children.—At the ſame time they are happy in aſſuring the Magiſtrates and Council that they will continue to employ their beſt endeavours in

in promoting the improvement of the youth committed to their care, which they conſider as the moſt ſuitable return they can make to their honourable patrons and benefactors. 7 Nov^{r} 1785. Signed by the four maſters, Ja^{s} French, Luke Fraſer, W^{m} Cruickſhank, and W^{m} Nicoll.

[No. 4.]

The Remonſtrance and Petition of the four Maſters of the High School, humbly ſheweth,

THAT, whereas a Committee of Univerſity appointed by the Magiſtrates in conſequence of the complaints againſt the teaching of two grammars, to determine which of the two ought to have the preference, have given in a report ſtill ſuſtaining and authoriſing the teaching of both.

1. The ſaid maſters have had 13 years experience of the effects of teaching two grammars on the education of the youth under their care.
2. That they have found their pupils, inſtead of being improved at the end of the fifth or ſixth year under the rector in grammatical knowledge, from an almoſt total diſuſe of the rules they had formerly been taught, miſled in that eſſential particular, and much more ignorant of grammar than they were at the end of the fourth year.

3. That

3. That by this means their labours, and the progress of the youth in that essential branch of education, have been greatly obstructed, nay almost totally blasted.

4. That the present decision of the Committee, notwithstanding the reference to them from the Magistrates expressly were that they should determine, which of the two grammars ought to have the preference, does in no degree end to obviate, but to perpetuate the evil, by authorising the absurd notion of still continuing both.

5. That altho the rector should, contrary to his practice hitherto, teach and apply such rules of Ruddiman's Grammar as his pupils have been used to previous to their entering his class, yet as he is left at liberty as above mentioned to carry them on in the more advanced parts of grammar on whatever plan he pleases, however vague and however inadequate, instead of pursuing the well-known solid system long ago adopted by every judicious teacher in this kingdom, it is too obvious the labour of the masters and the progress of their pupils will in the end be in a great measure frustated, and the consequence be, that a finished Latin scholar will never, in spite of the most conscientious and painful industry, be produced in the school—an observation that has been already made

made by ſome perſons with too much truth.

6. That your petitioners are unanimouſly and decidedly of opinion that two grammars in one ſchool are incompatible with the good of that ſchool.

7. That they are unanimouſly and clearly of opinion that Ruddiman's Grammar is beyond compariſon the moſt compleat and correct ſyſtem of Latin grammar that ever was publiſhed; and that they cannot in character or conſcience forbear, with however great reluctance, remonſtrating againſt the teaching of any other grammar whatever, as by ſo doing they would expoſe themſelves to the cenſure of the world, and incur the guilt of betraying the beſt intereſt of claſſical education in this metropolis, and of diffuſing the example through the kingdom.

8. That your petitioners with gratitude acknowledge that they owe a conſiderable portion of what claſſical knowledge they poſſeſs to that learned and judicious work; and ſome of them, after finiſhing their ſtudies at the Univerſity, upon entering ſeriouſly into the practice of the profeſſion, did lay aſide the grammar they had been taught at ſchool, as erroneous and defective, and were at pains, after they were grown up to be men, to commit to memory as much as they could retain

tain of Ruddiman's Grammar, as a complete and infallible directory in teaching, prompted ſolely by a ſtrong conviction of its ſuperior merit and utility.

Your petitioners therefore, confiding intirely in the wiſdom and patronage of their honourable patrons, who have ever conjunctly and individually, in a public and private capacity, ſhewn themſelves deeply attentive to the intereſts of this ſeminary, hope they will maturely re-conſider the matter, and ſee cauſe to reſcind ſuch part of ſaid report, as ordains the teaching of two grammars, and reſtore the youth of this place, and the grammatical labours of the learned Mr. Ruddiman, to their juſt rights. And your petitioners ſhall ever pray!

[No. 5.]

At Edinbr, the 23 of Auguſt 1786 Years.

WHICH day the right honourable the Lord Provoſt, the Magiſtrates, and Council of the city of Edinburgh, being aſſembled—The Council having again taken into conſideration the ſituation of the High School, and the different grammars made uſe of by the maſters, they appointed the rector and other maſters to teach and inſtruct their ſcholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar, and

prohibited and diſcharged any other grammar to be uſed in the High School, and appointed extracts of this act to be tranſmitted to the rector and other maſters.

[No. 6.]

At Edinb^r, the 29th of Novem^r 1786.

WHICH day the right honourable the Lord Provoſt, the Magiſtrates, and Council, of the city of Edinburgh, being aſſembled—Read letter from Dr. Adam, rector of the High School, relative to his teaching his ſcholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar; which being conſidered, the Council, as patrons of the High School, ordered and directed the rector, and other maſters, of the High School, to teach and inſtruct their ſcholars by Ruddiman's Rudiments and Grammar, and prohibited, and diſcharged any other rudiments, or grammar, to be taught or made uſe of by the rector, or other maſters, in any of the claſſes of the ſaid School; with certification to thoſe, who ſhall diſobey or counteract this injunction, that they will do ſo at their peril, and incur the diſpleaſure of their patrons.—Ordered extracts to be ſent to the rector and each of the other maſters, without abiding a reading in Council.

Extracted from the Records,
by Joſ. Williamſon.

THE APPENDIX, No. 6.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST of NEWS PAPERS, from the Epoch of the Civil Wars. [See before, p. 114.]

THE Diurnal Occurrences, or Daily Proceedings of Both Houſes, in this great and happy Parliament, from the 3d of November, 1640, to the 3d of November, 1641.—London: printed for William Cooke, and are to be ſold at his Shop at Furnifall's-Inne Gate, in Holbourne, 1641.

1640 Nov. 3 to June 1641.—The ſpeeches in parliament were publiſhed, in 2 vols. pp. 534, 1641, for Wm. Cooke.

1641-2 March 7.—Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament.—No. 9.

1641 Nov. 22 to 29.—Diurnal Occurrences; or The Heads of the ſeveral Proceedings, in the preſent Parliament. London: printed for John Thomas, 1641.

1641-2 Jan. 10 to 17.—The Diurnal, &c. London: for F. Coules and T. Banks. (Averred by J. B.)—No. i.

1641-2

1641-2 Jan. 11 to Feb. 3.—Ireland's True Diurnal; ſent from an Alderman in Dublin to his Son in London. London: printed for Wm. Bladen.

1641.—Warranted Tidings from Ireland. London: printed for Butter, 4to. pp. 5.—There were many occaſional papers of news from Ireland, during the Iriſh wars.

1642.—A Speedy Poſt, with more News from Hull.

1642 May 23 to 30.—The Heads of all the Proceedings of both Houſes of Parliament. London: printed for J. Smith and A. Coe, 1642.

1642 May 24 to 2d June.—Some ſpecial paſſages from London, Weſtminſter, York, Ireland, and other parts, collected for the ſatisfaction of thoſe that deſire true information. Printed for Tho. Baker.

1642 June 13 to 20.—A perfect Diurnal of the Paſſages in Parliament. No. 1.—It contains the news communicated to parliament.

1642 July 16 to 26.—A Diurnal and Particulars of the laſt Week's Daily Occurrences from his Majeſty in ſeveral Places. Printed by T. F. for D. C.

1642 Auguſt.—Special Paſſages from ſeveral Places.

1642 Dec. 20 to 27.—The Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1642-3 Jan. 1.—Mercurius Aulicus, a Diurnal, communicating the Intelligence and Affairs of the Court to the reſt of the Kingdom. Oxford: printed by H. Hall, for W. Webb, bookſeller, near to Queen's College.—The author was the well-known Sir John Birkenhead.

1642-3 Jan. 9 to 16.—Certain Informations from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom.—No. 1.

1642-3 Jan. 23 to 30.—The Daily Intelligencer of Court, City, and Country, relating the moſt remarkable Paſſages in either, which may ſave much Labour in writing Letters. London: printed for John Thompſon.—No. 1.

1643 May 18 to 25.—Mercurius Civicus: London's Intelligencer.—No. 3.—It is ornamented with a great variety of wooden cuts; and this number, containing a vote of parliament with regard to the Queen, is ornamented with her majeſty's portraiture.

1643 June 9 to 16.—The Parliament's Scout's Diſcovery.—No. 1.

1643 July 19.—Wedneſday's Mercury; or Special Paſſages: collected for thoſe, who wiſh to be informed.—No. 1.

1643 Aug. 16 to 22.—Mercurius Britannicus.—No. 1.—The author was the able and changeful Marchmont Nedham.

1643 Sept. 23 to 30.—The True Informer.—No. 1.

1643 Aug. 30 to Sept. 7.—The Weekly Account, &c.—No. 1.

1643 Oct. 13 to 17.—The Scotch Intelligencer: or The Weekly News from Scotland and the Court.—No. 1.

1643 Oct. 27 to Nov. 3.—Informator Rusticus: or the Country Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1643 Oct. 21 to 28.—The Welch Mercury; communicating remarkable intelligences and and true News to the whole Kingdom.—No. 1.

1643 Sept. 30 to Oct. 6.—*The Scotch Dove*, sent out and returning, &c. London, 4to.—No. 1. It has a wooden cut, representing the dove with her sprig.

1643 Nov. 2 to 9.—The Kingdom's Weekly Post, with his Packet of Letters.—No. 1.—It has a wooden cut, representing The Post on horse-back.

1643 Oct. 23 to 30.—Mercurius Cambro Britannicus. The British Mercury; or the Welch Diurnal.—No. 1.

1643-4 Jan. 23.—Mercurius Viridicus.

1643-4 Jan. 23 to 30.—The Spie; communicating Intelligence from Oxford.—No. 1.—[Written by Durant Hothan, Sir John's son.]

1643-4 Feb. 6 to 13.—Mercurius Anglicus: or a Poſt from the North, &c.—No. 1.

1643-4 Feb. 19 to 26.—The Military Scribe; publiſhing the true warlike Relations to the People.—No. 1.

1643-4 March 12 to 19.—Britain's Remembrancer; of the moſt remarkable Paſſage in both Kingdoms.—No. 1.

1644 March 18 to May 13.—Intelligence from the South Borders of Scotland: written from Edinburgh.—No. 8.

1644 May 8 to 15.—Chief Heads of each Day's Proceedings in Parliament.

1644 June 7.—Mercurius Fumigoſus; or the Smoaking Nocturnal.—No. 1.

1644 June 22 to July 2.—The Court Mercurie; containing the moſt remarkable Paſſages of the King's Army. Printed by Tho. Forget. No. 1.

1644 July 10.—*Le Mercure Anglois.* This French paper had been formerly publiſhed for two or three weeks, but diſcontinued: from this time it was publiſhed at London, weekly, on Thurſday morning at 9 o'clock.

1644 July 30 to Aug. 6.—The London Poſt.—No. 1.

1644 Sept. 13 to Sept. 20.—The Country Meſſenger; or the Faithful Foot Poſt; containing his Weekly Intelligence, &c.

1644,

1644.—Mercurius Hibernicus. Printed at Briſtol.

1645 March 27 to 3 April.—The Moderate Intelligencer.

1645 April 12 to 19.—Mercurius Viridicus, &c. —No. 1.

1645 May 6 to 13.—The Parliament's Poſt.—No. 1.

1645 July 24 to Aug. 28—Heads of ſome Notes out of the City; or The Scout.—No. 5.

1645 July 22 to Oct. 14.—The City Scout.—No. 12.

1645 Oct. 15.—The Kingdom's Weekly Poſt. (according to order.)

1645 Nov. 25 to Dec. 2.—The Kingdom's Scout. No. 1.

1645-6 Jan. 1 to Feb. 16.—An exact and true Collection of Weekly Paſſages, to ſhew the error of the *Weekly* Pamphlets; by authority: to be communicated from month to month.

1645-6 Feb. 2.—Mercurius Academicus.

1645-6 Feb. 16 to Mar. 2.—An exact and true Collection of the moſt remarkable Proceedings of Parliament, and Armies.

1645-6 March 7.—The Weſtern Informer.—No. 1.

1645.—A Diary, or an exact Journal of the moſt remarkable Proceedings of both Ho. of Parliament.

1645.—Perfect Paſſages of each Day's Proceedings, &c.

1645.—Perfect Occurrences of Parliament, the chief Collections of Letters from the Army.

1645.—Perfect Diurnal, &c.

1646 May 6.—General News from all Parts of Chriſtendom.—No. 1.

1646 Oct. 13 to 20.—The Military Actions of Europe; as alſo the Councils made public relating thereto; collected weekly for the Tueſday's Poſt.—No. 1.

1646 Nov. 25 to Dec. 2.—Diurnus Britannicus, Collector of the Affairs of Great Britain, and Martial Proceedings in Europe.—No. 1.—In No. 3. dated December 8, 1646. This title was changed to Mercurius Diutirnus.

1646-7 Jan. 7 to 14.—*The London Poſt.*—No. 1.

1646-7 Jan. 20 to 27.—Mercurius Candidus: Weekly News.—No. 1.

1646-7 Feb. 16 to 23.—The Moderate Meſſenger.—No. 22.

1647 Mercurius Medicus: or a ſovereign Salve for theſe ſick Times.—No. 1.—The year 1647 was remarkable for the conteſt between the Parliament and the Army.

1647 June 17.—Mercurius Britannicus.—No. 1.

1647 July 26.—A *Perfect Summary* of the chief Paſſages in Parliament, &c.

1647

1647 Sept. 4 to 11.—Mercurius Melancholicus: or News from Weſtminſter and other Parts.—No. 1.

Rex Carole, a te Valeat Ita
è Vangelivm Scotiâ,
per te, Vigeat Hiberniâ,
Vt in te, floreat in Angliâ,
Legis, & pacis gratia.

Eheu! quid feci miſero mihi? Floribus Auſtrum,
Perditus, & liquidis immiſi fontibus Apros.

Woe is me, undone, with blaſts the flowers doe fade,
The Chryſtal ſprings by Swine, are puddle made.

Printed in the yeere 1647. J. H.

1647 Sept. 14 to 21—Mercurius Pragmaticus: Communicating Intelligence from all Parts, touching all Affaires, Deſignes, Humours, and Conditions, throughout the Kingdome, eſpecially from Weſtminſter and the Head-Quarters.—No. 1.

When as we liv'd in Peace (God wot)
A King would not content us,
But we (for ſooth) muſt hire the Scot
To-all-be Parliament us.

Then down went King and Biſhops too,
On goes the holy wirke.
Betwixt them and the Brethren blew,
T'advance the Crowne and Kirke.

But when that theſe had reign'd a time,
Rob'd Kirke and Sold the Crowne,
A more Religious ſort up climbe,
And cruſh the Jockies downe.

But

But now we muſt have Peace againe,
Let none with feare be vext;
For, if without the Kinge theſe reigné,
Then heigh downe they goe next.

—— By Marchmont Needham, ſays
Anthony Wood.

1647 Sept. 17 to 24.—Mercurius Clericus: or News from Syon.—No. 1.

1647 Sept. 23 to 30.—Mercurius Anti-Pragmaticus.—No. 1.

1647 Nov. 4 to 11.—Mercurius Populus; or News declaring plain Truth to the People. No. 1.

1647 Nov. 12.—Mercurius Ruſticus: News from the ſeveral Counties.

1647 Nov. 13 to 20.—Mercurius Bellicus: or an Alarm to all Rebels.—No. 1.

1648 Jan. 31 to Feb. 7.—MERCURIUS ELENCTICUS: Communicating the unparallell'd Proceedings at Weſtminſter, the Head-Quarters, and other Places, diſcovering their Deſignes, reproving their Crimes, and adviſing the Kingdome.—No. 1.

——— Ridentem dicere verum,
Quid vetat?

To kill the King eight yeares agon
Was counted Higheſt Treaſon:
But now 'tis deemed juſt, and done
As conſonant to Reaſon.

The

The Temple was eſteemed then
Sacred and Venerable:
Adorn'd with grave and godly Men,
But now 'tis made a Stable.

'Twas Criminall to violate
The wholeſome Lawes o' th' Nation;
But (now we have a lawleſſe State,)
'Tis done by Proclamation.

Both Prince and People liv'd in Peace;
The Land with Wealth abounded:
But now thoſe Bleſſings fade and ceaſe,
Thankes to the curſed Round-head.

1648 May 12 to 19.—Mercurius Honeſtus: or News from Weſtminſter.—No. 1.

1648 May 25 to June 1.—Mercurius Cenſorius; News from the Iſle of Wight.—No. 1.

1648 May 12 to June 16.—The Parliament Kite: or The Tell-tale Bird. London, 4to, pp. 8. No. 5.

1648 June 15 to 22.—The Parliament Vulture; News from all Parts of the Kingdom, London, 4to. pp. 8.—No. 1.

1648 June 23 to 30.—The Parliament's Screech Owle; or Intelligence from ſeveral Parts.—No. 1.

1648 July 11 to 18.—The Moderate: Impartially communicating Martial Affairs to the Kingdom.—No. 1.

1648 July 11.—Packets of Letters.—No. 17.

1648 July 25 to 31.—The Royal Diurnal.—No. 1.

1648.

1648.—The Colcheſter Spie.—No. 1.

1648 Aug. 17 to 24.—Mercurius Fidelicus.—No. 1.

1648 Aug. 21 to 28.—The Parliament Porter: or the Door-Keeper of the Houſe of Commons.—No. 1.

1648 Sept. 28 to Oct. 5.—Mercurio Volpone: or the Fox. For the better Information of His Majeſty's loyal Subjects, prying into every Junto; proclaiming their Deſigns; and reforming all Intelligence.—No. 1.

1648 Oct. 10 to 17.—Mercurius Militaris: or the Armies Scout, &c.—No. 1.

1648 Oct. 7 to Nov. 8.—The True Informer: or Monthly Mercury; being the certain Intelligence of Mercurius Militaris. To be continued Monthly.—No. 1.

1648 Dec. 7.—The Moderate Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1648 Dec 4 to 11.—A Trance: or News from Hell, brought freſh to Town, by Mercurius Acheronticus.—No. 1.

1648-9 Feb. 2 to 9.—The Kingdom's faithful and impartial Scout.—No. 1.

1648-9 March 1 to 7.—The Impartial Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1649 April 7.—A modeſt Narrative of Intelligence, fitted for the Republic of England and Ireland.—No. 1.

1649 April 23 to 30.—England's Moderate Meſſenger.—No. 1.

1649

1649 May 2 to 9.—The Perfect Weekly Account, &c. &c.

1649 May 14 to 21.—Mercurius Philo-Monarchicus.—No. 1.

1649 May 22 to 29.—Mercurius Republicus.—No. 1.

1649 April 10 to 17.—The Man in the Moon, diſcovering a World of Knavery under the Sunne.—No. 1.

1649 June 14 to 21.—The Moderate Mercury. No. 1.

1649 July 16 to 23.—A Tueſdaies Journal of perfect Paſſages in Parliament, &c. &c.—No. 1.—This is ornamented with the Arms of the Republic.

1649 Aug. 9 to 16.—Great Britain's Paine-full Meſſenger.—No. 1.

1649 Aug. 30 to Sept. 6.—Mercurius Hibernicus.—No. 1.

1649 Sept. 24 to Oct. 1.—The Weekly Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1649 Sept. 24 to Oct. 1.—A Brief Relation of ſome Affairs Civil and Military.—No. 1.

1649-50 Dec. 20 to 27.—A perfect Diurnal of ſome Paſſages of the Armies in England and Ireland. Licenſed by the Secretary of the Army.—No. 1.

1649-50 Jan. 30 to Feb. 6.—The Iriſh Monthly Mercury.—No. 1.

1650 June 6 to 13.—MERCURIUS POLITICUS: com-

comprising the Summ of all Intelligence, with the Affairs and Designs now on Foot, in the three Nations of England, Ireland, and Scotland. In Defence of the Common-Wealth, and for Information of the People.—No. 1.

——Ità vertere Seria Ludo.
Hor. de Ar. Poet.

1650 Sept. 24 to Oct. 1.—Mercurius Anglicus, &c. London, 4to.—No. 1.

1650-1 Dec. 27 to Jan. 3.—The Faithful Scout, &c.—No. 1.

1651 July 28 to Aug. 4.—Mercurius Scoticus.—No. 1.

1651 Sept. 22 to 29.—The Diary (a Weekly paper).—No. 1.

1651 Nov. 18 to 25.—The French Intelligencer, faithfully communicating the chief Proceedings of the King of Scots, the King of France, and the Prince of Condè, &c. London, printed by Ro. Wood.—No. 1.

1651-2 Jan. 28 to Feb. 4.—Mercurius Bellonius.—No. 1.

1651-2 March 17 to 25.—The Dutch Spy, faithfully communicating the most choice Intelligence from the States General, with their Designs now on foot, &c. London, 4to. No. 1.

1652 April 1 to 7. — Mercurius Democritus: or a *Nocturnal*, communicating wonderful

News from the World in the Moon.—No. 1.

1652 April 22.—Mercurius Phreneticus. A Weekly Paper.

1652 April 22.—*Mercurius Zeteticus.* Hebdomeda prima.

1652 April 22.—The Theme, Scoto-Preſbyter.

1652 May 10 to 17.—The French Occurrences.—No. 1.

1652 May 10 to 17.—Intelligence of the Civil War in France.—No. 1.

1652 June 21 to 28.—Mercurius Heraclitus: or the Weeping Philoſopher (a Weekly Paper).—No. 1.

1652 July 19 to 26.—Mercurius Britannicus.—No. 1.

1652 Aug. 20 to 27.—Mercurius Maſtix, faithfully laſhing all Scouts, Mercuries, Poſts, Spyes, and others.—No. 1.

1652 Aug. 25 to Sept. 8.—The Laughing Mercury: or true and perfect News from the Antipodes.—No. 22.

1652 Sept. 2 to 8.—The Dutch Intelligencer.—No. 1.

1652 Oct. 26 to Nov. 1.—Mercurius Britannicus: for Ja. Cottrel.—No. 15.

1652. — Mercurius-Cambro-Britannicus: or News from Wales.

1652-3 Dec. 20 to 27.—A true and perfect Dutch Diurnal (a Weekly Paper).—No. 1.

1652-3 Jan. 23 to 30.—The Loyal Intelligencer.—No. 73.

1652-3 Feb. 20 to 27.—Mercurius Poetus, comprising the Sum of all Intelligence, Foreign and Domeſtic.—No. 1.

1652-3 March 13 to 20. —Mercurius Aulicus. —No. 1.

1653 Feb. 4 to 11.—The Faithful Poſt: for G. Horton.—No. 1.

1653 April 8 to 15.—The Moderate Publiſher of every Day's Intelligence.—No. 93.

1653 June 1 to 8.—Mercurius Pragmaticus.—No. 1.

1653 June 17.—The Daily Proceedings of the Armies by Sea and Land, under the Command of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell. By Authority.

1653 June 20 to 27.—Mercurius Radamanthus: The chief Judge of Hell, his Circuit thro' all the Courts of Law in England.—No. 1.

1653 July 4.—Several Proceedings of Parliament. —No. 1.—[This was Cromwell's Parliament, which ſat from 4th July to 26th, 1653.]

1653 Aug.—Mercurius Claſſicus: communicating ſome choice Intelligence, Domeſtic and Foreign.—No. 1.

1653 Sept. 14.—A further Continuance of the Grand Political Informer, &c.

1653 Nov. 2.—Great Britain's Poſt.—No. 136.

1653 Nov. 2.—Mercurius Democritus; a true and perfect *Nocturnal*.—No. 80.

1653.—The Armies Scout.

1653-4

1653-4 Dec. 30th to Jan. 6.—The True Informer, for T. Lock.

1653-4 Jan. 4 to 11. — The Politique Poſt. No. 12.—

1653-4 Jan. 17.—The Grand Politique Poſt, &c.—No. 127.

1654.—The Blood's Almanack, or Monthly Obſervations and Predictions.

1654 May 1 to 8.—The Weekly Poſt, Horton. —No. 177.

1654 June 7.—Mercurius Fumigoſus; or The Smoaking Nocturnal.—No. 1.

1654 July 14 to 21. — Mercurius' Jocoſus; or The Merry Mercury.

1655 Oct. 1 to 8.—The Public Intelligencer, for Henry Hills.—No. 1.

1656.—There ſeem to have been in this year few or no additional news-papers ſet up. The Public Intelligencer, and Mercurius Politicus, were the two chief papers in 1655, 56, 57, 58, 59, and were both publiſhed by order of Parliament.—In the year 1657 the collector of the King's tracts ceaſed (as he ſays himſelf) from his great pains and labour; as the publications became leſs numerous and intereſting.

1657 May 19 to 26.—The Public Advertiſer. This is a weekly news-paper, which was printed for Newcomb in Thames-Street, and conſiſts almoſt wholly of advertiſements,

with the arrival, and departure, of ſhipping, and with books to be printed.—No. 1.

1658 July 17.—Mercurius Meretrix; or the Venereal Spy. Entered at Stationers Hall of this date.

1659 May 3 to 10.—The Weekly Poſt.—No. 1. Upon the meeting of the Parliament reſtored to freedom, after the death of Cromwell.

1659 May 5 to 12.—The Moderate Informer. —No. 1.—All Occurrences, at home and abroad.

1659 April 16 to 23.—The Faithful Scout.—No. 1.

1659 May 25.—The Weekly Account, on the eſtabliſhment of a *Free State.*—No. 1.

1659 June 23 to 30.—A particular Advice from the Office of Intelligence, near the Old Exchange, and alſo Weekly Occurrences from Foreign Parts. — No. 1. for J. Macock. — It was immediately entitled Occurrences from Foreign Parts, &c. publiſhed by Authority, and printed under *both theſe titles.*

1659 July 19 to 26.—The Weekly Intelligencer of the Common Wealth.—No. 1.

1659 Sept. 30 to Oct. 6.—The Loyal Scout.—No. 1.

1659 Dec. 19 to 26.— The Parliamentary Intelligencer; comprehending the Sum of Foreign Intelligence, &c. &c.—No. 1.

THE

THE RESTORATION.

1660.—MERCURIUS PUBLICUS was continued under the old title; and No. 1. was publiſhed on Thurſday the 3d January to the 10th of January 1660-1.

1660.—THE PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCER was alſo continued under the former title; and No. 14, dated from Monday the 26th of March to Monday the 2d of April, was ſaid to be publiſhed *by Order of the Council of State.*—The No. 16 began with the following advertiſement:—"Whereas Marchmont Nedham, the author of the weekly news-books, called *Mercurius Politicus*, and the *Publique Intelligencer*, is by order of the council of ſtate diſcharged from writing or publiſhing any *publique* intelligence, the reader is deſired to take notice, that by order of the ſaid council, Giles Dury and Henry Muddiman are authorized henceforth to write and publiſh the ſaid intelligence, the one upon the Thurſday, and the other upon the Monday, which they do intend to ſet out under the titles of *The Parliamentary Intelligencer*, and of *Mercurius Publicus.*"——Theſe two weekly *books* of *news* which in 1656 had been entered in the ſtationers regiſter, as the property of Thomas Newcombe, *with the licence of*

Secretary Thurlow, were, on the 9th of April 1660, entered as the property of Dury and Muddiman, by licence of the *council of ſtate*.

1659-60 Jan. 6 to 13.—An exact Account of the Daily Proceedings in Parliament, No. 56, which appears to have been revived upon the freſh meeting of parliament.

1659-60 Feb. 21.—A perfect Diurnal of every Day's Proceedings in Parliament, No. 1.—This paper contains various accounts of the rejoicings all over England, on perceiving the dawn of the Reſtoration.

1661.—In the Parliamentary Intelligencer (by the Parliament's diſſolution having loſt its name) this new year [1661] will beget another.

1661.—The Kingdom's Intelligencer, No. 1, began on Monday the 31ſt of December 1660 to the 6th of January 1661. Publiſhed by authority.

1663.—THE PUBLIC INTELLIGENCER; and *the News*, No. 1, began to be publiſhed by L'Eſtrange, on the 31ſt of Auguſt 1663.

1665.—The Oxford Gazette, No. 1, was printed at Oxon, by Leonard Litchfield, and publiſhed by authority. It was reprinted, in two ſmall folio pages, at London, by Thomas Newcombe, for the uſe of ſome merchants, and gentlemen, who deſire the ſame; and was dated on Monday the 13th of November 1665.

1665-6.—The London Gazette, being No. 24. of the Oxford Gazette, began to be printed

from Thurſday, February 1ſt, to Monday February 5th, by Thomas Newcombe, over againſt Baynard's Caſtle, in Thames Street.—The Oxford and London Gazettes were for ſeveral years entered on the Stationers Regiſter, as the property of Newcombe, who had formerly publiſhed for Thurlow.

1666.—The Current Intelligencer, 4th June.

1666.—Intelligence; by J. Macock.

1668.—The Mercury; or Advertiſements concerning Trade.

1669.—London Mercury, City and Country Mercury.

1669.—The Faithful Mercury, imparting News, Foreign and Domeſtick, 22d July.

The Engliſh Intelligence; by Thomas Burrell.

1671.—The Proteſtant Oxford Intelligence; or Occurrences, Foreign and Domeſtick; by T. Benſkins.

1675-6.—Poor Robin's Intelligence, from the beginning of the World to the Day of the Date hereof, in written figures. Printed by A. P. and T. H. for the general aſſembly of Hawkers.

1677.—Poor Robin's Intelligence revived.

1677-8.—Poor Robin's public and private Occurrences and Remarks. Printed for T. C. near Fleet-Bridge.

1677-8.—Public Occurrences, truly ſtated by George Larkin.

1678.—The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome; or the Popiſh Courant.—This paper began on the 3d of December 1678, and continued to 13 July 1683.

1679.—Relationes Extraordinariæ.

1679.—Mercurius Civicus; or An Account of Affairs, Domeſtick and Foreign; by R. Everingham.

1679.—The Weekly Intelligence; or News from City and Country; by Samuel Crouch.

1679.—Friendly Intelligence.

1679-80-1.—Domeſtick Intelligence; or News from City and Country: publiſhed to prevent falſe Reports. London: printed by Nathaniel Thompſon, next the Croſs Keys, in Fetter Lane, for Benjamin Harris, at the Stationers Arms, in the Piazza, under the Royal Exchange, Cornhill.

The Rotterdam Courant.

Domeſtick Intelligence, publiſhed gratis, for the promoting of Trade. Printed by N. Thompſon, for Benjamin Harris.

1679-80.—True Domeſtick Intelligence, News both from City and Country; by Nathaniel Thompſon.

1679-80-81.—The Current Intelligence, or an impartial Account of Tranſactions, both Foreign

reign and Domeſtick. Printed for John Smith, bookſeller in Great Queen Street, 14 February.

1679-80. — Loyal Intelligence; or News from City and Country.—March.

1679-80. — Catholic Intelligence; or infallible News, both Foreign and Domeſtick, publiſhed for the edification of Proteſtants. Printed for J. How, in Sweething's Alley, Cornhill.—March.

1679.—The Engliſh Intelligence. Printed for Thomas Burrell, at the Golden Ball, Fleet Street.—28 July.

1679.—The Engliſh Courant; or Advice, Domeſtick and Foreign. Printed for Thomas Burrell.—8 September.

1679.—Mercurius Anglicus; or the Weekly Occurrences faithfully tranſmitted. London: printed by Robert Harford, at the Angel in Cornhill, 16 November 1679; and revived in October 1681, by Richard Baldwin, in the Old Bailey.

1679.—Engliſh Gazette. Printed for W. E. and ſold by Thomas Fox, at the Angel in Weſtminſter Hall.—December 1679.

1680.—The Courant Intelligence; or an Impartial Account of Tranſactions, both Foreign and Domeſtick. Printed for Allen Banks, bookſeller, in Fetter Lane.—13 March.

1680.—Weſtminſter Gazette; by Thomas Fox.

1680-81-82.—The true Proteſtant Mercury; or

Occurrences, Foreign and Domeſtick; by Langley Curtis, beginning the 28th of December: from No. 79. it was printed at the ſign of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, near Fleet Bridge.

The Univerſal Intelligence, for Langley Curtis.

The Epitome of the Weekly News, for Langley Curtis.

1680.—Mercurius Civicus; or the City Mercury, or a true Account of Affairs, both Foreign and Domeſtick. Printed by R. Everingham, in Eve Mary Lane, for the Author.—March.

1680.—The true Proteſtant Domeſtick Intelligence; or News from City and Country. Printed for the Author.—April.

1680.—The Impartial London Intelligencer; or Occurrences, Foreign and Domeſtick. Printed for Thomas Benſkin.

1680.—Mercurius Publicus; or Domeſtick and Foreign News.

1680 to 83.—Loyal Proteſtant, and true Domeſtick Intelligence; or News, both from City and Country, publiſhed to prevent the many falſe, ſcandalous, and malicious reports. Printed by Nathaniel Thompſon.—9 March

1680.—Advice from Parnaſſus. Printed for H. L.—January.

1680-1.—Proteſtant Intelligence, Domeſtick and Foreign. Printed for Fra. Smith, at the ſign of

of the Elephant and Caſtle, in Cornhill.—No. 1: February 1ſt.

1681-2-3.—The Obſervator; by Sir Roger L'Eſtrange.

1681.—The true and impartial Proteſtant Mercury. Printed for R. Janeway, in Queen's Head Alley, in Paternoſter Row.—No. 1. 27 April.

1681.—The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Geneva; or the Hiſtory of the Reformation. Printed by N. Thompſon.—12 May.

1681-82.—Domeſtick Intelligence; or News, both from City and Country, impartially related. Printed for T. Benſkin, in St. Bride's Church Yard, Fleet Street.—13 May.

1681.—The Haerlem Courant, truly rendered into Engliſh. Publiſhed by Henry Rhodes, next door to the Bear Tavern, in Fleet Street.—January.

1681.—Heraclitus Ridens.

1681.—Mercurius Bifrons; or the Engliſh Janus, the one ſide true and ſerious, the other jocular. Printed for F. B.—February.

1681.—Democritus Ridens; or Comus and Momus, a new Jeſt and earneſt Pratling, concerning the Times. Printed for Francis Smith.

1681.—The Weekly Diſcoverer ſtripped naked, or Jeſt in Earneſt expoſed to View in his proper Colours. Printed for Benjamin Harris.

1681.—The Diſcoverer ſtripped naked; or Jeſt and Earneſt expoſed. B. Harris.

1681.

1681.—Viſions of the Pope.—Printed for T. Benſkin.

1681.—The Weekly Viſions of the Popiſh Plot. Printed for T. Benſkin.

1681.—Veridicus, communicating the beſt Engliſh News; by William Henchman.

1681.—Weekly Diſcovery of the Myſtery of Iniquity, in the Rebellion in England, 1641; by Benjamin Tooke.

1681.—News from the Land of Chivalry, containing the pleaſant and delectable Hiſtory, and the wonderful and ſtrange Adventures, of Don Rugero de Strangmento, Knight of the Squeaking Fiddle-ſtick, and of ſeveral other Pagon Knights and Ladies. Printed for J. P.

1681.—Dreams.

1682.—London Mercury; or News Foreign and Domeſtick; by T. Violet.—6th April.

1682.—Proteſtant Courant; or News Foreign and Domeſtick: Printed for Richard Baldwin, near the Black Bull, in the Old Bailey.—April.

1682.—London Mercury; or Moderate Intelligencer: by G. Croom, in Thames Street, over againſt Baynard's Caſtle.—June.

1682.—Current Domeſtick and Foreign Intelligencer; by G. Croom.

1682.—Loyal Impartial Mercury; or News Foreign and Domeſtick: by E. Brooks.—June.

1682.—Moderate Intelligencer. R. Robinſon.

1682.—Monthly Recorder of all Occurrences, both

both Foreign and Domeſtick. Publiſhed by Langley Curtis.

1682.—New News Books; or Occurrences Foreign and Domeſtick. R. Janeway.

1682.—Epitome of Weekly News. Publiſhed by Langley Curtis.

1682-3.—Conventicle Courant; ſetting forth the daily Troubles, Dangers, and Abuſes, that loyal Gentlemen meet with by putting the Laws in Execution againſt unlawful and ſeditious Meetings. Printed for the aſſigns of J. Hilton, Gentleman.

1683.—Scotch Memoirs, by way of Dialogue between John and Elymas. Printed, the No. 1 and 2 for William Abbington, and the ſubſequent numbers for Richard Butts, at the Bear and Orange Tree, in Prince's Street.—Feb.

1683.—Intelligence for promoting Trade. Benjamin Harris.

1683.—Jockey's Intelligencer of Horſes and Coaches.—J. Smith.

1687-8.—Public Occurrences, truly ſtated, with Allowance. Printed by George Larkin, at the Two Swans, without Biſhops Gate.—Feb. 21ſt.—No. 1.

1688.—The Weekly Teſt Paper. Printed by G. C. [George Croom] for the author.

THE REVOLUTION.

1688.—Orange Intelligence; by G. C. [George Croom]

1688.—London Courant.

1688-9.—Orange Gazette, with Allowance. For Jane Curtis.

1688-9.—London Intelligencer.—John Wallis.

1688-9.—Univerſal Intelligencer.—John Wallis.

1688-9.—Engliſh Courant.

1689.—Geographical Intelligence.

1689.—Haerlem Courant. Printed for John Search.

1689.—The Roman Poſt Boy: or Weekly Account from Rome. Printed by G. C. [George Croom] for John Mumford.

1689.—The London Mercury; or Moderate Intelligencer. Printed by G. C. [George Croom] at the Blue Ball, in Thames Street.

1689.—The Univerſal Intelligence. Printed by Thomas More, in the White Fryars.

1689.—A Ramble round the World; by Kainophilus, a Lover of Novelties; to which is added, the Iriſh Courant. Printed for R. Janeway.—No. 1.—1ſt of November.

1689-90-91-92.—New Obſervators; or Mercurius

rius Reformatus; by R. Baldwin and Dan. Newman.

1690.—The Coffee-houſe Mercury; containing all the remarkable Events that have happened. Printed by J. Aſtwood.—4 November.

1690.—Pacquets of Advice from Ireland, with the Iriſh Courant. J. Hunt.

1690.—Lampoons; or Reflections on Public News Letters. R. Taylor.

1690-1.—Momus Ridens; or Comical Remarks on the Public Reports. Publiſhed by R. Taylor.

1691.—Weekly Remarks on the Tranſactions Abroad. Dan. Newman.

1691.—Pacquet of Advice from France. R. Baldwin.

City Mercury; or Advertiſements concerning Trade; by R. Everingham, Benjamin Harris, Mercury and Intelligence Offices, E. Hawkins, &c. for divers years.

Urbanicus and Ruſticus; or the City and Country Mercury.

Infernus; or News from the other World: by Tho. Marlow.

Engliſh Intelligencer. Tho. Burhill.

Poor Gillan againſt Poor Robin's Weekly Intelligence.

1691.—The Athenian Mercury, for John Dunton.

1691.—The Athenian Gazette was a *weekly* paper,

paper, which was publiſhed by the ever-to-be-remembered John Dunton, at the Raven, in Jewin Street.--By an advertiſement in the Athenian Gazette, dated the 8th of February 1696, it appears, that the coffee-houſes of London had then, excluſive of the votes of parliament every day, nine news-papers every week. There ſeems not to have been, in 1696, any daily paper.

As early as the reign of Queen Anne, London enjoyed the luxury of a news-paper, every day. Yet, even, in 1709, there was of daily papers, only publiſhed, The Daily Courant.

On every Monday, Wedneſday, and Thurſday, The Supplement. — The General Remark. — The Female Tatler.—The General Poſtſcript; on every Monday, and Friday.——The Britiſh Apollo.

On every Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday, The London Gazette.—The Poſtman.—The Poſtboy.—The Flying Poſtboy.

On every Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday, The Review.—The Tatler. — The Rehearſal Revived.—The Evening Poſt.—The Whiſperer.—The Poſt-boy, Junior.—The City Intelligencer.——And on every Wedneſday and Saturday, The Obſervator: making in all eighteen diſtinct news-papers, every week.

In

In 1724, there were publiſhed in LONDON, of Daily Papers, Three: viz.

The Daily Courant. Printed by Buckley, Amen Corner.

The Daily Poſt, Meere, Old Bailey.

The Daily Journal, Applebey, near Fleet Ditch.

Of Weekly Papers, Six: viz.

Miſt's Journal, Great Carter Lane.

Freeholder's Journal, Sharp, Ivy Lane.

Applebey's Journal, near Fleet Ditch.

Read's Journal, White Fryers, in Fleet Street.

London Journal, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

Whitehall Journal, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

Of Papers publiſhed Three Times every Week, Seven: viz.

The Poſt-Man, Leach, Old Bailey.

The Poſt-boy, James, Little Britain.

The Fly Poſt, Jenour, Giltſpur Street.

The Whitehall Evening Poſt, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

The St. James's Poſt, Grantham, in Paternoſter Row.

Berrington's Evening Poſt, Silveſter Street, Bloomſbury.

The Engliſhman, Wilkins, in Little Britain.

And of Half-penny Poſts, publiſhed Three Times every Week, Three: viz.

Heathcot's, Baldwin's Gardens.
Parker's, Saliſbury Court.
Read's, White Fryers, Fleet Street.

And the London Gazette, twice a week.

Every kind of periodical publication increaſed abundantly, during the long and active reign of George II. The number of News-papers, which were ſold annually, in England, according to a three years average, ending with

1753, was — —	7,411,757.
Ditto, 1760, — —	9,464,790.
With the commencement of hoſtilities, the annual number roſe, in 1756, to	10,394,146.
and, in 1757, to	11,300,980.

Such publications have increaſed ſtill more during the preſent reign. The following is a Liſt of ENGLISH NEWS-PAPERS, in May 1792.

LONDON

LONDON NEWS-PAPERS.

DAILY PAPERS.

Morning Chronicle. No. 1, Shire-lane, Temple-bar.
The Diary. At the office, Saliſbury-ſquare.
The Herald. At the office, No. 18, Catherine-ſtreet.
The World. At the office, No. 335, Strand.
The Oracle. At the office, No. 132, Strand.
The Times. At the office, Printing-houſe-ſquare, Black-friars.
The Star. At the office, Temple-bar.
The Argus. No. 5, Catherine-ſtreet, Strand.
The Gazetteer. No. 10, Ave-Maria-lane.
Morning Poſt. At the office, Blake-court, Catherine-ſtreet.
Public Ledger. No. 12, Warwick-ſquare, Warwick-lane.
Daily Advertiſer. No. 33, Fleet-ſtreet.
Public Advertiſer. Corner of Ivy-lane, Paternoſter-row.

EVENING PAPERS,

Publiſhed Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday.

General Evening Poſt. No. 28, Paternoſter-row.

St. James's Chronicle. Corner of Union-ſtreet, Black-friars.

London Chronicle. No. 71, St. Paul's-church-yard.

London Evening Poſt. No. 6, Old Bailey.

Engliſh Chronicle. Blake-court, Catherine-ſtreet.

Whitehall Evening Poſt. No. 3, Peterborough-court, Fleet-ſtreet.

Publiſhed Tueſday, and Saturday.

London Gazette. *Edward Johnſtone*, Warwick-lane.

Publiſhed Tueſday, and Friday.

Courier de Londres *(in French)*. No. 8, Coventry-ſtreet, Hay-market.

Publiſhed Monday, Wedneſday, and Friday.

Lloyd's Evening Poſt. *Spilſbury* and *Son*, No. 57, Snow-hill.

London Packet. No. 12, Warwick-ſquare, Warwick-lane.

Evening Mail. At the office, Printing-houſe-ſquare, Black-friars.

WEEKLY PAPERS.

The Craftsman. No. 10, Ave-Maria-lane.
Baldwin's London Weekly Journal. Corner of Union-ſtreet, Black-friars.
Weſtminſter Journal. No. 10, Creed-lane, Ludgate-ſtreet.
Old Britiſh Spy. Same place.
Johnſon's Britiſh Gazette and Sunday Monitor. No. 4, Ludgate-hill.
Sunday London Gazette. No. 14, Brydges-ſtreet, Covent-garden.
Sunday (*London*) Recorder. No. 48, Ludgate-hill.
Sunday Review. No. 10, Orange-ſtreet, Leiceſter-fields.
Sunday (The) Obſerver. At the office, facing Norfolk-ſtreet, Strand.

ENGLISH COUNTRY PAPERS.

Birmingham Gazette, *(Aris's) Thomas Pearſon*, Monday.
Birmingham Chronicle, *(Swinney's) Swinney* and *Walker*, Thurſday.
Briſtol Gazette, *William Pine*, Thurſday.

Briſtol Journal, *(Felix Farley's) J. Rudhall*, Saturday.

Briſtol Journal, *(Sarah Farley's) Routh* and *Peach*, Saturday.

Briſtol Journal, *(Bonner's) Samuel Bonner*, Saturday.

Briſtol Mercury, *Bulgin* and *Roſſer*, Monday.

Bath Chronicle, *Richard Crutwell*, Thurſday.

Bath Journal, *Hooper* and *Keene's*, Monday.

Bath Herald, *W. Meyler*, Saturday.

Bath Regiſter, *J. Johnſon*, Saturday.

Bury and Norwich Poſt, *(Printed at Bury) P. Gedge*, Wedneſday.

Cheſter Chronicle, *John Fletcher*, Friday.

Cheſter Courant, *(Adams's Weekly) Edmund Monk*, Tueſday.

Cambridge Chronicle, *Francis Hodſon*, Saturday.

Chelmsford Chronicle, *Clachar* and *Co.* Friday.

County Chronicle *(Printed in London) J. Wheble*, Tueſday.

Coventry Mercury, *Noah Rollaſon*, Monday.

Cumberland Pacquet, *(Printed at Whitehaven) John Ware*, Tueſday.

Derby Mercury, *(Drewry's) John Drewry*, Thurſday.

Dorcheſter and Sherborne Journal, *W. Crutwell*, Friday.

Doncaſter (Yorkſhire) Journal, *E. Sanderſon*, Saturday.

Exeter

Exeter Flying Poſt, *Robert Trewman*, Thurſday.
Exeter Journal, *E. Grigg*, Monday.
Exeter Gazette, *S. Woolmer*, Thurſday.
Glouceſter Journal, *Robert Raikes*, Monday.
Glouceſter Gazette, *J. Pytt*, Friday.
Hampſhire Chronicle, *(Printed at Wincheſter) J. Wilkes*, Monday.
Hampſhire Journal, *(Printed at Wincheſter) J. Robbins*, Friday.
Hull Packet, *Lee* and *Co.* Tueſday.
Hereford Journal *(Pugh's) D. Walker*, Wedneſday.
Ipſwich Journal, *Shave* and *Jackſon*, Saturday.
Kentiſh Gazette, *(Printed at Canterbury) Simmons, Kirkby*, and *Jones*, Tueſday and Friday.
Kentiſh Chronicle, *(Printed at Canterbury) William Briſtow*, Tueſday and Friday.
Leeds Intelligencer, *Thomas Wright*, Monday.
Leeds Mercury, *James Bowling*, Saturday.
Liverpool General Advertiſer, *John Gore*, Thurſday.
Liverpool Advertiſer, *Thomas Billinge*, Monday.
Liverpool Weekly Herald, *H. Hodgson*, Saturday.
Liverpool Phœnix, *R. Ferguſon*, Saturday.
Leiceſter Journal, *John Gregory*, Friday.
Leiceſter Herald, *R. Phillips*, Saturday.
Leiceſter Chronicle, *J. Ireland*, Friday.
Lincoln and Stamford Mercury, *(Printed at Stamford) Peat* and *Newcomb*, Friday.

Manchester Mercury, *James Harrop*, Tuesday.
Manchester Chronicle, *Charles Wheeler*, Saturday.
Manchester Herald, *M. Falkner* and *Co.* Saturday.
Maidstone Journal, *John Blake*, Tuesday.
Newcastle Courant, *Hall* and *Elliott*, Saturday.
Newcastle Chronicle, *Solomon Hodgson*, Saturday.
Newcastle Advertiser, *Mat: Brown*, Saturday.
Newark Herald, *D. Holt*, Wednesday.
Northampton Mercury, *Dicey* and *Co.* Saturday.
Norfolk Chronicle, *(Printed at Norwich) Crouse* and *Stevenson*, Saturday.
Norwich Mercury, *Yarington* and *Bacon*, Saturday.
Nottingham Journal, *George Burbage*, Saturday.
Oxford Journal, *William Jackson*, Saturday.
Reading Mercury, *Smart* and *Cowslade*, Monday.
Sussex Weekly-Advertiser, *(Printed at Lewes) W.* and *A. Lee*, Monday.
Sherborne Mercury, *Goadby* and *Co.* Monday.
Salisbury and Winchester Journal, *B. C. Collins*, Monday.
Sheffield Advertiser, *William Ward*, Friday.
Sheffield Register, *Joseph Gales*, Friday.
Shrewsbury Chronicle, *Thomas Wood*, Saturday.
Worcester Journal, *(Berrow's) John Tymbs*, Thursday.
Wolverhampton Chronicle, *J. Smart*, Wednesday.

York

York Courant, *G. Peacock*, Tuesday.
York Chronicle, *William Blanchard*, Friday.
York Herald, *Wilson*, *Spence*, and *Mawman*, Saturday.

NEWS-PAPERS published in SCOTLAND, during the Year 1793.

Edinburgh Evening Courant, *(Printed at Edinburgh) David Ramsay*, Monday, Thursday, and Saturday.
Edinburgh Gazette,* *(Printed at Edinburgh)* Twice a Week.
Caledonian Mercury, *(Printed at Edinburgh) Robert Allan*, Monday, Thursday and Saturday.
Edinburgh Gazetteer, *(Printed at Edinburgh) William Johnston*, Twice a Week.
Edinburgh Advertiser, *(Printed at Edinburgh) James Donaldson*, Tuesday and Friday.
Edinburgh Herald, *(Printed at Edinburgh) Stewart, Ruthven*, and *Co.* Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.

* I have just been opportunely informed, that there was an Edinburgh Gazette, published by Authority—from Tuesday the 7th, to Tuesday the 14th of December 1680.—Printed by the heir of A. Anderson, printer to the King's most sacred Majesty.—No. 2. This Edinburgh Gazette appears to have been first printed on the 1st of December, 1680: how long it continued I have not discovered.

Edinburgh Caledonian Chronicle, *(Printed at Edinburgh) James Robertſon,* Twice a Week.
Glaſgow Journal, *(Printed at Glaſgow) Peter Tait,* Tueſday.
Glaſgow Mercury, *(Printed at Glaſgow) Chapman* and *Duncan,* Tueſday.
Glaſgow Advertiſer, *(Printed at Glaſgow) John Mennons,* Monday and Friday.
Glaſgow Courier, *(Printed at Glaſgow) W. Reid* and *Co.* Tueſday, Thurſday, and Saturday.
Britiſh Chronicle, or Union Gazette, *(Printed at Kelſo) James Palmer* and *Co.* Friday.
Aberdeen Journal, *(Printed at Aberdeen) James Chalmers* and *Co.* Monday.
Dumfries Weekly Journal, *(Printed at Dumfries) Robert Jackſon,* Tueſday.

The average number of news-papers, which were printed, in England, at the cloſe of the late reign, was — — 9,464,790.
The number printed in 1790, was 14,035,639.
In 1791, — 14,794,153.
In 1792, — 15,005,760.

THE APPENDIX, No. 7.

A LETTER from George Nicolſon, Queen Elizabeth's Ambaſſador in Scotland, to Sir Robert Cecil, the Secretary of State. [The Original is in the Paper-Office: and ſee before, page 235.]

IT may pleaſe your honor. This daye morninge at 9 howers at that tyde the K.[ing] wrote to the chancellor, ſecretary, and others, and to ſome of the kirk; and word came hither in this maner, and the L.[ord] Secretary told me, That yeſterday th' Erle of Gowry ſent the M^r his brother M^r Alex^r Riven to the K.[ing] hunting in Fawkland Parke, ſhewing the K.[ing] that where for his adoies he had muche troubles to git treaſor &c. his brother th' erle had founde in an old towre in his houſe at S^t Johnſton's [Perth] a great treaſor to helpe the K.[ing's] turne w^th w^ch he ſaide his brother wolde faine have the K.[ing] to go to ſee quietly that day, whereon after the K.[ing] had hunted a while and taken a drink, he tooke freſhe horſe and diſcharged his company (to wit) the D.[uke] and Erle of Marr then in company w^th him, taking onely a few w^th him; yet the D.[uke] rode and the Erle of Marr followed, and the K.[ing] met by the way the L.[ord] of Inchchaffray who alſo rode w^th him to S^t Johnſton's, where the K.[ing] cominge, th' erle

erle meting him caryed him into his houſe, and gave him a good dynner, and after went to dynner w^th^ the D.[uke] and his company, the M^r^ in the meane tyme of their dining perſwaded the K.[ing] to go w^th^ him quietly to ſee it, as the K.[ing] diſcharginge his company to follow, went w^th^ the M^r^ from ſtaithe to ſtaithe and chamber to chamber locking ſtill the doors behinde him untill he came to a chamber where a man was, w^ch^ the K.[ing] thought had ben the man had kept the treaſor. There the M^r^ cleked hold on the K.[ing] and drew his dagger, ſayeing he had killed his father, and he wolde kill him; the K.[ing] w^th^ good wordes and meanes ſought to diſwaid him, ſayeing he was younge when his father was executed and dyvers others honeſt men, that he was innocent thereof, had reſtored his brother, and for amends made him greater then he was, that if he killed him, he could not eſchape, nor be his heir; That he preſumed M^r^ Alexander had learned more divinity than to kill his Prince; aſſuringe him, and faithfully promiſing him, that if he wold leave of his enterprice he wold forgive him, and kepe it ſecrett as a matter attempted upon heate and raſheneſs onely. That to theſe the M^r^ replied, what was he preachinge, that ſhould not helpe him, he ſhould dye, and that therewith he ſtroke at the K.[ing] the K.[ing] and he bothe going to the ground, that the M^r^ called to the man there preſent to kill the K.[ing]

That

That the man anſwered, he had nether harte nor hand, and yet is a very curragiouſe man, that the K.[ing] having no dagger, but in his hunting cloths w^th^ his horne yet defended himſelf from the M^r^ and in ſtrugling got to the windowe where he cryed treaſon, w^ch^ S^r^ Tho^s^ Erſkin, John Ramſay, and Doctor Harris, hearing ran up after the K.[ing] but found the doors ſhutt as they could not paſſe, yet John Ramſay knowing another way got up and in to the K.[ing] who cryed to John he was ſlaine, whereon John out w^th^ his rapier and killed the M^r^; in this tyme that th' erle ſhould tell the duke, Marr, and the reſt, that the K.[ing] was gone away, out at a back gate, that they ran out and Gowry w^th^ him, and miſſing him that th' erle ſaide he wold go back and ſee where the K.[ing] was, that he w^th^ 8 w^th^ him, w^th^ a ſteele bonnett and two rapiers ran up the ſtaires, that John Ramſay, meting them w^th^ drawn ſwordes, S^r^ Tho^s^ Erſkin and Doctor Harris being then comed to John, after ſondry ſtrokes in the end killed the erle alſo, S^r^ Thomas being hurt and Doctor Harris mutulate and wanting 2 fingers. That this ſtir being, the townes men and Gowrie's frends in evil appearance ſaid, they wold have accompt where th' erle was, or they wold pay the grene cotes, to pacifie w^ch^ the D.[uke] and Mar, were ſent to the magiſtrates and ſo quieted the matter, as the K.[ing] and his company gott away, the K.[ing] thanking God

God for his deliverance, and yeſternight knighted as I heare John Ramſay and Doctor Harris, but the ſecretary told it not me *. Upon theſe Ires comed from the courte, the whole council here convened, and in end at one of the clock roſe and came all to the market croſſe, and there by ſound of trumpett intimated but in bref the happie eſchape of the K.[ing] and their act that they made in council for the people to thank God for it, and in joy thereof to ring bells and build bone fires; Mr David Lindſay ſtanding with the council on the croſſe made a pithy and ſhort exhortation to the people to prayſe God for it, and therewth praied and praiſed God for the ſame, the whole council on their knees on the croſſe, and whole people in the ſtretes in like ſorte, the peces of the caſtle alſo ſhotte in joye, the few bells yet ringing, the youthes of the towne gone out to ſkirmiſh for joye and bone fires to be bilded at night. And the council to go this tyde over to the K.[ing] for further deliberation in this matter. The K.[ing] at his retorne to Fawkland preſentlie cauſe thruſt out of the houſe from the Q.[ueen] Gowrie's two ſiſters in cheif credyt wth the Quene, and ſwears to roote out that whole houſe and name: upon the conveninge of the council the portes of the towne were ſhutt for apprehendinge Gowrie's other brethren, and

* Mr James Hamilton is this day gone to England.

the

the lands are to be given to theſe new knights and others. This is the information and reporte comed yet hither by the K.[ing's] command, w^ch ſome yet doubted to be fully ſo; what will follow I remit to the ſequell; being glad the K.[ing] is ſafe without hurte. Gowrie's ſecretary is taken, and matters hope to be diſcovered by him. Some falſe lyenge villains gave it out I ſhould have ben this day morne at Leith by 3 of the clock, and ſhould ſay, being aſked by one, that I was there attending ſtrange newes from beyond the water. I tolde the ſecretarie of it, that it was falſe, as God be thanked it is, and that if I were charged by any ſuch deviliſh devices, I wold refuſe no deboſhed ſwinger or bloody villaine that ſhould be ſo ſuborned to put doubt towards me; praying the ſecretarie to remember it and ſay it for me, if he hard it. That your honor ſees how the malicious here ſpite me, in what danger I live, and how ſubject I am to all accuſation here, and ſome practiſing knaves wold whiſper it that this plot ſhould be drawne and diviſed in other parts, *Ingland**. But thus much for this tyme in haſte, w^th myne humble duty & ſervice. I pray God preſerve yo^r hon^r. Edenburgh the 6^th of Auguſt 1600.

Yo^r honor's &c. &c,

GEO. NICOLSON.

I have no copie of this.

* This word is interlined.

MEM.

MEM.—This muſt be allowed to be a very intereſting letter; as it exhibits a ſtriking picture of that ſingular tranſaction, at the moment, and of the manners of the times. In it we ſee, that the King had on a hunting-horn; that the King and his attendants wore *grene cotes*; and that the Earl of Gowrie's two ſiſters lived in the palace, at the moment of the conſpiracy, and were *in cheif credyt with the Quene*. The foregoing *diſpatch* of Nicolſon proves very clearly, that Queen Elizabeth had *no finger in that pye*, particularly when Nicolſon's declarations are coupled with the ſubjoined

LETTER from Lord Willoughby, Queen Elizabeth's governor of Berwick, to Sir Robert Cecil. [The Original is in the Paper-Office.]

SIR,

I received your packet to M^r Hudſon the 18^th of this month, and another to M^r Ralph Gray this morning both which I have diſpatched acordingly, but ſuch is the negligence of the poſts that the packetts are 7 or 8 dayes in coming. For occurens yt is uncertain, whether the convention hold, but the King is reſolved to have biſhopes: The Marquis of Huntley have reconciled

ciled the King and Queen. The Erle of Mar is retired to Stirling, who hath very diſhonorably ſuggeſted [to] the King, that I was privy to the practice of the Earl of Goury: his reaſon to induce him to believe yt was, becauſe I gave the ſaid earle kind entertainment at his being at London. Other newes hear is none, but that the contry is in very good quiet, which courſe I will endeavour to continue in the town to my utmoſt. But ſuch are the contentions of the council heer that unleſs S^r^ Will. Bowes had carried himſelf very diſcreetly and I myſelf preſently prevented yt, they had quarrelled in my bed chamber, being at council. Thus, not willing to troble you any further, I reſt

Yo^r^ faithfully aſſured
to doe you ſervice,
P. WYLLOUGHBY.

Berwick, this
21 October 1600.

MEM. There is bound up with the foregoing letters, "The true diſcourſe of the late treaſon attempted againſt his Majeſty's royal perſon, by the late Earl of Gowry, and his brother Mr. Alexander Ruthven, the 5th Auguſt 1600."

THE

THE APPENDIX, No. 8.

A LIST of the BOOKS, which were printed by Thomas Ruddiman. It is as extenſive a Liſt as I could make, without the inſpection of the account-books of the printing-office. — See before, p. 272. — John Cook was the corrector of Ruddiman's preſs, in 1737; but, when he began, or how long he continued, in that ſervice, I am unable to tell.

THIS year [1715] Thomas Ruddiman firſt began to print. And, in this year, he printed the one half of the ſecond volume of "The "Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation: "Being a full, complete, and genuine Hiſtory of "Scotland, from the Year of God 1329, to the "Year 1514; with a clear and demonſtrative "Confutation of the Errors of former Writers, "whether domeſtic or foreign: And a Survey of "the Military Tranſactions, wherein Scotland or "Scotſmen were remarkably concerned, during "that Period of Time. — By Patrick Aber-"cromby, M. D. vol. 2.

"Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera paſſi;
"Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo.

"Hit

" Hic quibus inviſi fratres, dum vita manebat,
" Pulſatuſque parens:——
——" Quique Arma ſecuti
" Impia; nec veriti dominorum fallere dextrâs.
" VIRG. Æneid. Lib. 6."

Edinburgh, printed by Mr. Robert Freebairn, printer to the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, and ſold at his ſhop in the Parliament-Cloſs, MDCCXV. pp. 545.

The Dignity of the Scottiſh Peerage vindicated. Edinburgh, printed in the year MDCCXIX. 4to. pamphlet, pp. 32.

Poems: by Allan Ramſay.

Let them cenſure, what care I?
The herd of critics I defy.
No, no, the fair, the gay, the young,
Govern the numbers of my ſong:
All that they approve is ſweet,
And all is ſenſe that they repete.
PRIOR, from Anacreon.

Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the author, MDCCXXI. 4to. pp. 400.

Epiſtolæ Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariæ, Regum Scotorum, Eorumque Tutorum & Regni Gubernatorum; Ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, Civitates, & alios, ab Anno 1505, ad Annum 1545.—Interjectæ ſunt quædam exterorum Principum ac Virorum illuſtrium literæ. Vol. 1.—Edinburgi: In Ædibus Thomæ Ruddimanni. Proſtant venales apud M. Ja-

cobum M'Euen, Georgium Stewart & Joannem Paton. MDCCXXII. 8vo. pp. 360.

Ovidij Decerpta ex Metamorphoſeôn libris, Notis Anglicis Gul. Willymotti et Thomæ Ruddimanni. Edin. MDCCXXIII. 12mo.

The Ever-Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600. Vol. 1. publiſhed by Allan Ramſay.

> Still green with bays each ancient altar ſtands,
> Above the reach of ſacrilegious hands,
> Secure from flames, from envy's fiercer rage,
> Deſtructive war and all-devouring age.
>
> POPE.

Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the publiſher, at his ſhop near the Croſs, MDCCXXIV. 12mo. pp. 272.

The Ever-Green, being a Collection of Scots Poems, wrote by the Ingenious before 1600. Vol. 2.

> Quha dar preſume thir poetis to impung,
> Quhais ſentence ſweit throw Albion bin ſung.
>
> SIR D. LINDSAY.

Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for Allan Ramſay, MDCCXXIV. 12mo. pp. 288.

Epiſtolæ Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariæ, Regum Scotorum, Eorumque Tutorum & Regni Gubernatorum; Ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, Civitates, & alios, ab

Anno 1505, ab Annum 1545. Interjectæ ſunt quædam exterorum Principum ac Virorum illuſtrium literæ. Vol. 2.—Huic Volumini in Calce ſubjuncta eſt *Appendix* quorundam Actorum publicorum, Hiſtoriam Scoticam, per primum ferè Mariæ Reginæ quinquennium, magnopere illuſtrans.—Edinburgi: In Ædibus Thomæ Ruddimanni. Proſtant venales apud M. Jacobum Mackeuen, Georgium Stewart & Joannem Paton, MDCCXXIV. 8vo. pp. 395.

ΗΡΩΔΙΑΝΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ Η. Herodiani Historiarum, Libri VIII. Ad optimorum codicum fidem ſummo ſtudio recogniti et Emendati.—Præmiſſa eſt M. Antonini Philosophi Vita, à Jo. Xiphilino Conſcripta.—Edinburgi: In Ædibus Thomæ Ruddimanni, Sumptibus Jo. Patoni, Bibliopolæ in Areâ Parliamentariâ, MDCCXXIV. 8vo. pp. 313.

Grammaticæ Latinæ Inſtitutiones, Facili, atque ad Puerorum captum accommodatâ, Methodo perſcriptæ. Additæ ſunt, in Provectiorum gratiam, Notæ perpetuæ: Quibus non Solum Latini ſermonis Præcepta pleniùs explicantur, ſed & ea pleraque omnia, quæ à ſummis Grammaticis aliiſque ad hanc Artem illuſtrandam ſunt obſervata, ſuccinctè ſimul perſpicuèque traduntur.—Perfecit, & ſuis Animadverſionibus auxit, Thomas Ruddimannus, A. M.—Pars Prima.—Qui ante nos iſta moverunt, non domini noſtri, ſed duces

ſunt. Patet omnibus veritas; nondum eſt occupata: multum ex illa etiam futuris relictum eſt.

SENEC.

Corrigenda ſi qua ſanè viſa vobis hinc errunt;
Non ero ſtultè repugnans, aut amans pravè mea,
Quim ſtatim culpanda delens, præbeam rectis locum.

TER. MAURUS.

Edinburgi: In Ædibus Auctoris, MDCCXXV. 8vo. pp. 329.

Collections relating to the Hiſtory of Mary Queen of Scotland, vol. 3. Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, MDCCXXVII, 4to. pp. 255.

Cantici Solomonis Paraphraſis Gemina; Prior vario Carminum genere, altera Sapphicis verſibus perſcripta.—Notis Criticis & Philologicis illuſtrata.—Auctore Joanne Kerro Dunblanenſi, Græcarum Literarum in Collegio Regio Univerſitatis Aberdonenſis Profeſſore. Edinburgi: In Ædibus Tho. Ruddimanni, Impenſis Auctoris, MDCCXXVII, 12mo, pp. 96.

Poems: by Allan Ramſay.

Men ſtill are men, and they who boldly dare,
Shall triumph o'er the ſons of cold deſpair.—
We bring ſome new materials; and what's old,
New caſt with care, and in no borrow'd mold,
Late times the verſe may read, if theſe refuſe,
And from four criticks vindicate the muſe.

DR. YOUNG.

Vol. 2. — Edinburgh: printed by Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, for the Author, MDCCXXVIII. 4to, pp. 428.

The

The Trial of James Carnegie of Finhaven, for the murder of Charles, Earl of Strathmore.—Edin. printed by Mr. Tho. and Walt. Ruddimans, and ſold at their printing-houſe, in the Parliament-Cloſe, An. MDCCXXIX. 4to. pp. 125.

Grammaticæ Latinæ Inſtitutiones, Facili, atque ad Puerorum captum accommodatâ, Methodo perſcriptæ.—Additæ ſunt, in Provectiorum gratiam, Notæ perpetuæ: Quibus non ſolum Latini ſermonis Præcepta pleniùs explicantur, ſed & ea pleraque omnia, quæ à ſummis Grammaticis aliiſque ad hanc Artem illuſtrandam ſunt obſervata, ſuccinctè ſimul perſpicueque traduntur. Perfecit, & ſuis Animadverſionibus auxit, Thomas Ruddimannus, A. M.—Pars Secunda.—Peſſimè de pueris merentur præceptores, qui aut regulas nullas tradunt, aut certè ſtatim abjiciunt, & magnificè promittunt, fore, ut uſu loquendi diſcantur Conſtructiones. Nam illi qui non norunt regulam, etiamſi legunt exempla in auctoribus linguæ, tamen loqui non ſatis audent, quia non habent certam rationem, ad quam dirigant compoſitionem verborum.—Quare publicè debebant in tales Præceptores pœnæ conſtitui, qui Præcepta faſtidiunt. Omninò enim danda eſt opera, ut tamdiu in ipſa arte detineantur adoleſcentes, donec perfecti Grammatici, donec Architecti Sermonis, & abſoluti artifices evaſerint.

PH. MELANCHTON.

Edinburgi: In Ædibus Auctoris, MDCCXXXI. 8vo. pp. 388.

Two Grammatical Treatiſes: viz.

1ſt. Animadverſions on the Latin Grammar, lately publiſhed by Mr. Robert Trotter, Schoolmaſter at Dumfries. By Mr. John Love, Schoolmaſter at Dumbarton.

2dly. A Diſſertation upon the Way of Teaching the Latin Tongue: wherein the Objections raiſed againſt Mr. Ruddiman's, and other ſuch like Grammars, for their being too full and particular, are anſwered and confuted; and the vulgar Practice of teaching Latin by a Grammar writ in the ſame Language, is juſtified and defended. Together with ſome Critical Remarks on the New Latin Grammar, compoſed by Mr. John Clarke, Schoolmaſter at Hull. And on the uſe he would have to be made of his literal Tranſlations. By another Hand.

——— Brevis eſſe laboro,
Obſcurus fio.
Interdum vulgus rectum videt.—
HORAT.

Edinburgh: Printed in the year MDCCXXXIII. 8vo. pp. 119.

Remarks on Mr. Innes's Critical Eſſay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the Northern Parts of Britain or Scotland. Edinburgh: Printed by Tho. and Wal. Ruddimans, MDCCXXXIII. 4to. pp. 32.

The Hiſtory of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, from the Beginning of the Reformation,

formation, in the Reign of King James V. to the Retreat of Queen Mary into England, Anno 1568. Taken from the public Records, and other authentic Vouchers. — Volume 1. — Edinburgh: Printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans, for George Stewart and Alexander Symmer, Undertakers, and ſold by them and Gavin Hamilton, Bookſellers. MDCCXXXIV, folio, pp. 858.

A Treatiſe concerning the Origin and Progreſs of Fees; or, The Conſtitution and Tranſmiſſion of Heritable Rights: being a Supplement to Spotiſwood's Introduction to the Knowledge of the Stile of Writs.

——— Si quid noviſti rectiùs iſtis,
Candidus imperti: ſi non, his utere mecum.

HOR.

Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddiman. Sold by J. Aitken, at his ſhop in the Parliament-Houſe, and other Bookſellers in Town, MDCCXXXIV. 8vo. pp. 276.

Georgij Buchanani, Scoti, Poëtarum ſui ſeculi facilè Principis *Paraphraſis* Pſalmorum Davidis Poetica.—Cum Alexandri Julij, Edinburgeni, Ecphraſi; et Notis integris Cl. virorum Thomæ Ruddimanni, & Petri Burmanni; Selectiſque Nathanis Chytræi Scholijs: quibus ſuas quoque Adnotationes adjecerunt *Editores*. Edinburgi: Apud T. and W. Ruddimannos: Venales proſtant apud Gul. Sands, aliosque Bibliopolas, MDCCXXXVII. 8vo, pp. 432.

An Eſſay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland: wherein they are placed in a clearer light than hitherto. Deſigned as an introduction to a larger work, eſpecially an attempt to ſhew an affinity betwixt the languages, &c. of the ancient Britains and the Americans of the iſthmus of Darien. In anſwer to an objection againſt revealed religion.

Quanta Caledonios attollet gloria campos.
STAT.

I have a great deal more pleaſure in inquiring into the antiquities and curioſities of my own country than of any other, even thoſe of ancient Greece and Rome.
REP. OF LETTERS, Feb. 1738.

Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans; and ſold by A. Kincaid, Bookſeller. MDCCCXXXVIII. 8vo.

Linguæ Græcæ Inſtitutiones Grammaticæ. In Vſum ſtudioſæ Juventutis. — Editio Tertia. — Edinburgi: apud Tho. & Walt. Ruddimannos: & venales proſtant apud And. Stalker, Glaſguæ, & And. Millar, Londini, in Vico *The Strand* dicto, exadverſum D. Clementis ædem, Bibliopolas. MDCCXXXVIII. 8vo, pp. 144.

Articles of Agreement betwixt the Profeſſors and Teachers; or who have been ſuch, of the Liberal Arts and Sciences, and Branches and Parts thereof, within the City of Edinburgh, Liberties, Suburbs, and Dependencies thereof; 2 February 1737. Edinburgh: printed by Thomas

mas and Walter Ruddimans. MDCCXXXIX. 8vo, pp. 23.

Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ: ſive Quatuor Sacri Codicis Scriptorum, Davidis & Solomonis, Jobi & Jeremiæ, Poëtici Libri, per totidem Scotos, Arct. Jonſtonum & Jo. Kerrum, P. Adamſonum & G. Hogæum, Latino carmine reddditi: Quibus, ab argumenti ſimilitudinem, adnectuntur alia, Scotorum itidem, opuſcula ſacra. —Summo quæque ſtudio recognita, & ad fidem optimorum exemplarium expreſſa. Edinburgi: apud Tho. and Wal. Ruddimanos. MDCCXXXIX. 8vo, pp. 208.

Poetarum Scotorum Muſæ Sacræ: ſive Patricii Adamſoni, Sancti-Andreæ in Scotia Archiepiſcopi, Jobi, Threnorumque ſeu Lamentationum Jeremiæ, ac Decalogi, Paraphraſis poëtica. Gulielmi Hogæi, Jobi atque Eccleſiaſtis Solomonis, & duorum Moſis Canticorum, Paraphraſis poëtica. Poëticum Duellum: ſeu G. Egliſemmii cum G. Buchanano pro dignitate paraphraſeos Pſalmi CIV. certamen. Cui adnectuntur ejuſdem Pſalmi aliæ Paraphraſes poëticæ ſex, Auctoribus totidem Scotis. Pars Altera. Summo quæque ſtudio recognita, & ad fidem optimorum exemplarium expreſſa. Edinburgi: apud Tho. & Wal. Ruddimannos. MDCCXXXIX. 8vo, pp. 312.

Selectus

Selectus Diplomatum & Numiſmatum Scotiæ Theſaurus, in Duas Partes diſtributus: Prior Syllogen complectitur veterum Diplomatum ſive Chartarum Regum & Procerum Scotiæ, una cum eorum Sigillis, a Duncano II. ad Jacobum I. id eſt, ab anno 1094 ad 1412.—Adjuncta ſunt reliquorum Scotiæ & Magnæ Britanniæ Regum Sigilla, à prædicto Jacobo I. ad nuperam duorum regnorum in unum, anno 1707, coalitionem; Item Characteres & Abbreviaturæ in antiquis codicibus MSS. inſtrumentiſque uſitatæ. Poſterior continet Numiſmata tam aurea quàm argentea ſingulorum Scotiæ Regum, ab Alexandro I. ad ſupradictam regnorum coalitionem perpetuâ ſerie deducta; ſubnexis quæ reperiri poterant eorundem Regum Symbolis Heroicis. Omnia ſummo artificio ad Prototyporum ſimilitudinem tabulis æneis expreſſa; adjectis ſingulorum Diplomatum, recentiore ſcripturæ formâ, æri itidem inciſis exemplis. Ex mandato Parliamenti Scotici collegit, digeſſit & tantum non perficienda curavit egregius ac patriarum antiquitatum callentiſſimus Vir Jacobus Anderſonus Scriba Regius. Quæ operi conſummando deerant ſupplevit, & Præfatione, tabularum explicatione, aliiſque Appendicibus, rem Scotiæ diplomaticam, nummariam & genealogicam haud parum illuſtrantibus, auxit & locupletavit Thomas Ruddimannus, A. M. Suppeditante ſumptus clariſſimo

clariſſimo Viro Thoma Paterſono Armigero. Edinburgi: apud Tho. & Walt. Ruddimannos. Venales autem proſtant, Londini apud eundem Tho. Paterſonum, in Vico vulgo *Conduit Street* dicto, propè *Hanover-Square*, & And. Millar, in Vico *The Strand*, è regione ædis D. Clementis, ad inſigne Capitis Buchananæi; & Edinburgi apud Gavinum Hamilton, Bibliopolam. MDCCXXXIX. Folio.

A Catalogue of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. Part the Firſt.—Edinburgh: printed by Thomas, Walter, and Thomas Ruddimans. MDCCXLII. Folio.

The Hiſtory of the Houſe and Race of Douglas and Angus. Written by Mr. David Hume of Godſcroff. Volume 1. pp. 388, containing the Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas. And volume 2. containing the Hiſtory of the Houſe of Angus. Edinburgh: printed by T. W. and T. Ruddimans, for L. Hunter; and ſold by him, and other bookſellers in Town. MDCCXLIII. 8vo, pp. 422.

A Deſcription of the Pariſh of Melroſe; in Anſwer to Mr. Maitland's Queries, ſent to each Pariſh of the Kingdom.—Edinburgh: printed by Thomas, Walter, and Thomas Ruddimans. Sold by John Paton, bookſeller, in the Parliament Cloſe. MDCCXLIII. 8vo.

A Vindi-

A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan's Paraphraſe of the Book of Pſalms, from the Objections raiſed againſt it by William Benſon, eſq. Auditor in Exchequer, in the Supplement and Concluſion he has annexed to his Prefatory Diſcourſe to his new edition of Dr. Arthur Johnſon's Verſion of that Sacred Book. In which alſo, upon a compariſon of the performances of thoſe two poets, the ſuperiority is demonſtrated to belong to Buchanan. Wherein likewiſe ſeveral paſſages of the original are occaſionally illuſtrated: together with ſome uſeful obſervations concerning the Latin poetry, and arts of verſification. In a Letter to that learned gentleman. By Thomas Ruddiman, A. M.

Non quivis videt immodulata poëmata judex.

HOR.

Hæc memini, & victum fruſtra contendere Thyrſin:
Ex illo Corydon, Corydon eſt tempore nobis.

VIRG.

Edinburgh: printed by W. and T. Ruddimans. MDCCXLV. 8vo.

An Anſwer to the Reverend Mr. George Logan's late Treatiſe on Government: In which (contrary to the manifeſt errors and miſrepreſentations of that author) the ancient conſtitution of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, and the hereditary ſucceſſion of its Monarchs, are aſſerted and vindicated. The legitimacy of King Robert

bert III. is moſt clearly demonſtrated; and, ſeveral conſiderable miſtakes and falſhoods, in our common hiſtorians and others are diſcovered and rectified; by Thomas Ruddiman, A. M.

Quæ Cæſaris Cæſari.
Luc. xxii. 25.
Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς Βασιλῆες.—
Hesiod.

Edinburgh: printed by W. and T. Ruddimans; and to be ſold at their printing-houſe, and by the bookſellers in Edinburgh. MDCCXLVII. 8vo.

A *Diſſertation* concerning the competition for the crown of Scotland, betwixt Lord Robert Bruce and Lord John Baliol, in the year 1291. Wherein is proved, that by the laws of God and Nature, by the civil and feudal laws, and particularly by the fundamental law and conſtitution of Scotland, at that time, and ever ſince, the right of Robert Bruce was preferable to that of John Baliol. In anſwer to the author of a late pamphlet, intitled, The Right of the Houſe of Stewart to the Crown of Scotland conſidered; to the Reverend Mr. Logan's two treatiſes on government; and to three anonymous papers in the Scots and Britiſh Magazines. With *an Appendix*, demonſtrating, that the claim ſaid to have been made to the crown of Scotland, by William firſt Earl of Douglas, anno 1371, is without

without foundation. By Thomas Ruddiman, A. M.

Inventus, Chryſippe, tui finitur acervi.
PERSIUS.

Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans; and to be ſold at their printing-houſe, and by the bookſellers in town. MDCCXLVIII. 8vo.

Animadverſions on a late pamphlet, intitled, *A Vindication of Mr. George Buchanan*, &c. wherein the arguments brought by its author, for clearing Buchanan from the two great faults he is charged with, are impartially examined and confuted: by Thomas Ruddiman, A.M.

Intolerabilis fit malitia, cum laudatur.
SIMONIDES.
Veritas Occultari ad tempus poteſt, vinci non poteſt.
D. AUGUSTINUS.
Qui Bavium non odit, amet tua carmina Mævi.
VIRG.

Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans; and to be ſold at their printing-houſe, and by the bookſellers in town. MDCCXLIX. 8vo.

The Rudiments of the Latin Tongue; or a plain and eaſy Introduction to Latin Grammar; wherein the Principles of the Language are methodically digeſted, both in Engliſh and Latin; with uſeful Notes and Obſervations, explaining the Terms of Grammar, and further improving its Rules. By Thomas Ruddiman, A. M. The eleventh

eleventh edition corrected. Edinburgh: printed and ſold by the author, and the bookſellers there. MDCCXLIX. pp. 136.—The twelfth edition corrected. Edinburgh: printed and ſold by the author, and the bookſellers there. MDCCLII. pp. 136.

T. Livius, accuranti Thoma Ruddimanno, 4 vol. Editio Longe Emendatiſſima. Edinb. MDCCLI. 8vo.

An Examination of the Letters, ſaid to be written by Mary Queen of Scots, to James Earl of Bothwell: ſhewing, by intrinſick and extrinſick Evidence, that they are Forgeries. Alſo, an Inquiry into the Murder of King Henry. By Walter Goodall.—Pandere res alta terra et caligine merſas, vol. 1. Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans. MDCCLIV. Octavo. pp. 418.—Vol. 2. contains 1ſt, The Letters themſelves, in Scottiſh, Latin, and French.—2d, The Conferences at York, and Weſtminſter, and other Writings relative to the Letters. By Walter Goodall. Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans. MDCCLIV. Octavo. pp. 392.

Anticriſis: or, a Diſcuſſion of a ſcurrilous and malicious Libel, publiſhed by one Mr. James Man of Aberdeen, intitled, *A Cenſure and Examination of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's philological Notes on the Works of the great Buchanan*; more particu-

particularly on the Hiſtory, &c. By Thomas Ruddiman, A.M.

Semper ego auditor tantum? Nunquamne reponam,
Vexatus toties?——— JUVENAL.

Non modò accuſator, ſed ne quidem obtrectator æternè eſſe is, qui, quod in altero vitium reprehendit, in eo ipſe deprehenditur. CIC.

Malefacere qui vult, nemini non caſum invenit.
SYR.

Vir cauſi expers, male rem fit.
HOR.

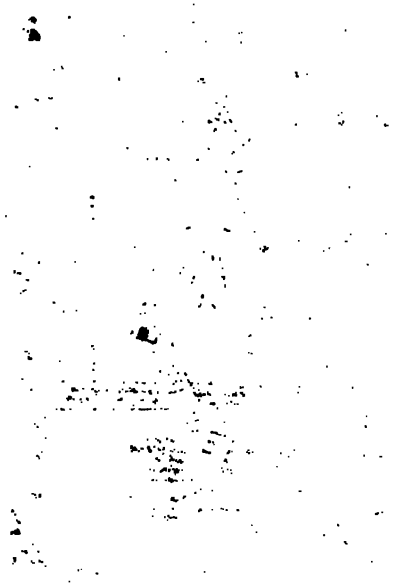
Edinburgh: printed by Tho. and Wal. Ruddimans; and ſold at their printing-houſe, in the Parliament Cloſe, and by the bookſellers in town. MDCCLIV. 8vo.

A large New Catalogue of the Biſhops of the ſeveral Sees, within the Kingdom of Scotland, down to the Year 1688.—Inſtructed by proper and authentic Vouchers: Together with ſome other Things neceſſary to the better Knowledge of the Eccleſiaſtical State of this Kingdom in former Times: As alſo, a brief Preface concerning the firſt Planting of Chriſtianity in Scotland, and the State of that Church in the earlier Ages. Edinburgh: printed by Thomas and Walter Ruddimans; and ſold by the bookſellers in town. MDCCLV. 4to. pp. 296.

Audi Alteram Partem; or a further Vindication of

of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman's Edition of the great Buchanan's Works. By Thomas Ruddiman, A.M. Edinburgh: printed by T. and W. Ruddimans; and ſold at their printing-houſe, in the Parliament Cloſe, and by the bookſellers in town. MDCCLVI. 8vo.

THE END.



Juſt publiſhed, by the ſame Author, for J. STOCKDALE.

I. An Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain, during the PRESENT and FOUR PRECEDING REIGNS; and of the Loſſes of her Trade from every War ſince the Revolution. A NEW EDITION: To which is now prefixed, A Dedication to Dr. James Currie, the reputed Author of "JASPER WILSON'S LETTER."

Alſo,

II. The Life of De Foe.
III. The Life of Sir John Davis.
IV. A Collection of Treaties. 2 vols. 8vo.